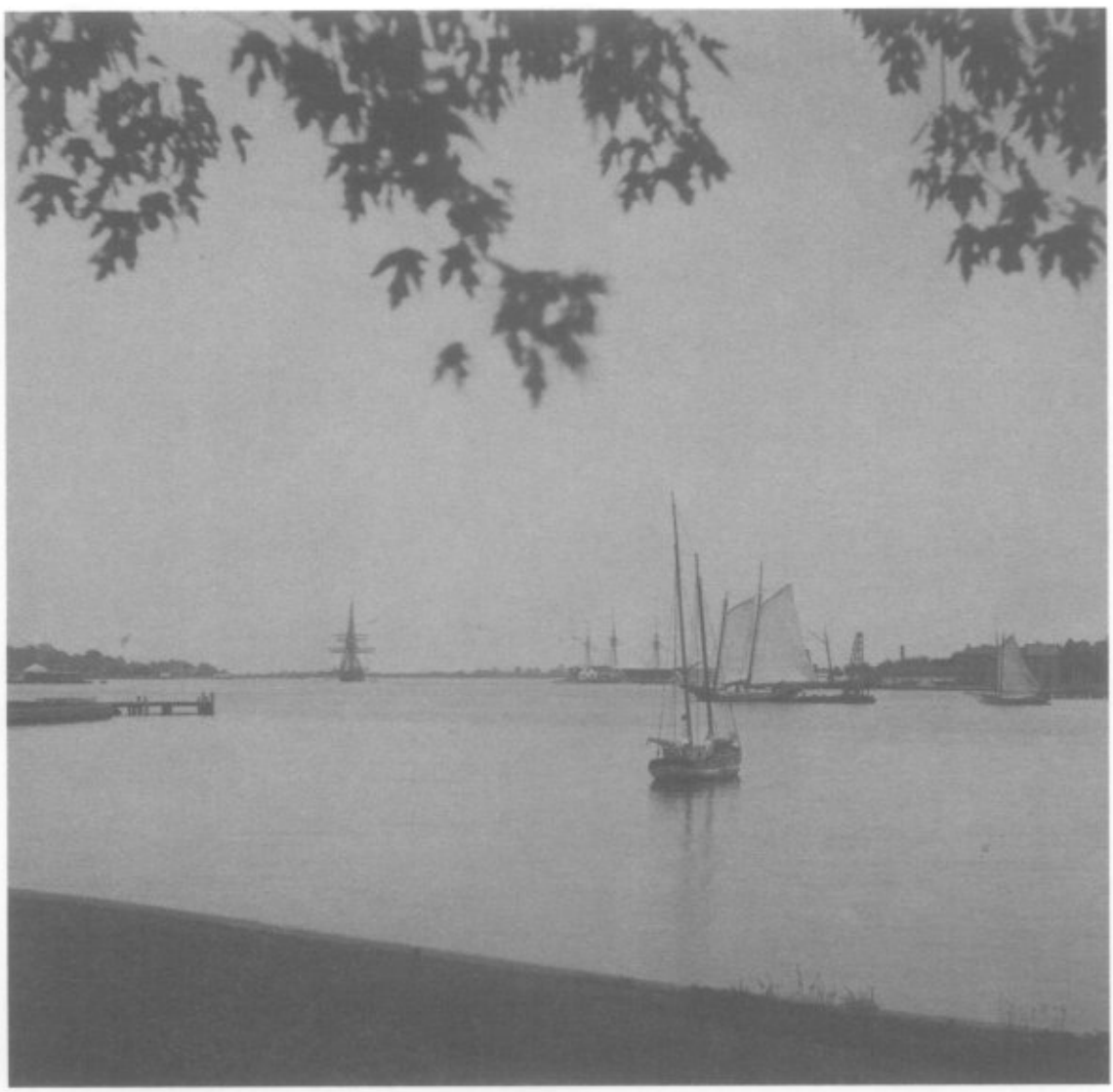
Spring 2006

MARYLAND

Historical Magazine



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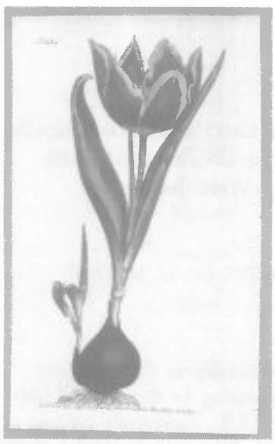

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In Memory of L. Byrne Waterman

The Maryland Historical Society, especially the maritime section, has lost one of its most dedicated volunteers ever. Byrne Waterman passed away March 3, 2006, after nearly two years of failing health and more than thirty years of service to the MdHS.

In 1975 he became a member of the Maritime Committee, and when he retired in 1981 from his executive position with the B&O Railroad, later Chessie System, he volunteered as a researcher in the maritime office. His particular interest was the vessels built in Baltimore for the whaling fleet. He had nearly completed a book on the subject when his health began to fail.

Dr. Ferdinand Chatard was a volunteer in the maritime section of the society when Byrne began volunteering and they were kindred souls when it came to their passion for Maryland's maritime history. The maritime files at MdHS are filled with copies of their responses to inquiries that came in over the years requesting information on someone's great-grandfather who was a sea captain, or the ship on which their ancestor came to America.

For many years they copied information on 3 x 5 cards from thousands of original maritime documents in storage at the society—ship registrations and enrollments, carpenter's certificates, and records of vessels entering the Port of Baltimore. These cards were filed alphabetically by the ship's name in files that line the walls of the maritime office. Their work organized the information that we have and made it possible to search the files without disturbing the very fragile original documents.

I retired in 1985 and to get me out of the house and save the marriage, my wife, a guide at MdHS, introduced me to Byrne as someone interested in maritime history. By that time, Dr. Chatard had died, so I joined Byrne on Tuesdays. He showed me a desk with a computer and said we need this, this, and this. We computerized much of the information he had recorded from the original documents, giving us the ability to access it more extensively.

Byrne was also interested in what other maritime museums were doing, so he attended many maritime association meetings representing MdHS. He became one of the most well-known and respected members of maritime museums across the nation.

He will be sorely missed at MdHS by staff and members alike.

Edmund Nelson

Friends of the Press at the Maryland Historical Society

In 1844 two hundred and fifty men of means joined forces, contributing five dollars each to rescue the shards and documents of Maryland history before they were forever lost. Thus was born the Maryland Historical Society, in which members wrote and presented papers that organized the society's collected raw materials. A steady stream of books and this journal came into being to publish those papers. By the 1950s publishing had become the society's primary occupation and claimed half its annual budget.

Since then the society has moved into directions that emphasize the museum, the library, and education. Yet the written word is still the backbone of history, and in the minds of many the publication of books and the magazine is the most important function the society serves. Recognizing that the time has now arrived to expand our press and restore the MdHS to regional publishing prominence, we have organized the "Friends of the Press" at the MdHS to lead the way.

If you were to come into our offices today you would find on our shelves such acclaimed books as *The Plundering Time, Hanging Henry Gambrill, The Chesapeake,* and *On Afric's Shore* (recently reviewed most favorably in the *New York Review of Books*). You would also find classic titles seeking well-deserved new printings, and the manuscripts of wonderful new works awaiting funding. Among the latter are *Chesapeake Ferries: A Waterborne Tradition, For the Glory of Maryland: The 2d Maryland Infantry (U.S.),* and *Treasure in the Cellar: A Tale of Depression-Era Baltimore.*

Despite their quality and appeal, such manuscripts are usually declined by large publishing houses because they deal with local subjects and are therefore insufficiently saleable. That is most certainly not true here, where we and our readers extend them a warm welcome. Yet the reality of scholarly publishing is that it is not and cannot become self-supporting. Financial support must be found outside the publishing house if a scholarly publishing program is to flourish.

The Friends of the Press is an organization through which you can take a hand in enlarging our program of publishing first-rate books on Maryland and the Chesapeake region. We invite you to become a member, to follow the path first laid out in 1844 and help fill in the unknown pages of Maryland's past for future generations. Become, quite literally, an important part of Maryland history.

If you would like to learn more about the Friends of the MdHS Press, call 410-685-3750 ext. 342, 317, or 318 to speak with someone at the press, write to us at Press at the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, MD, 21201, or email us at press@mdhs.org.

R.I.C.

MARYLAND
Historical Magazine
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The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors and letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Address Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch disks (MS Word or PC convertible format), or CDs, or may be emailed to rcottom@mdhs.org. Guidelines for contributors are available on our Web site at www.mdhs.org.

Editor's Notebook

Homer's Boys

The Revolution was the most daring of America's wars, the Civil War the most wrenching, and the First World War arguably the most romantic. The history and literature of these conflicts is filled with individual expression. In contrast, the Second World War subsumed the individual into the mass. Paul Fussell, a lieutenant in that war, argued in an angry, thoughtful book, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, 1990) that the United States entered the war with quaint and romantic notions borne of its predecessor—retaining a place for cavalry, for example, refining tactics for tanks the size of toys, and fawning over odd little contraptions—but it was not long before the conflict laid bare its real character and become a brutal matter of attrition, in which nations hurled quantities of men and steel at one another. Individual Americans and Japanese may have fought with daring, courage, and skill, and American self-reliance and creativity may have pushed Germans with better weapons and superior training across France, but the weight of Allied numbers and industrial capacity was decisive.

Such a war imposed immense psychological burdens on those who fought it. Most had no way out save by being killed, wounded, or winning final victory. That theme figured prominently in the powerful memoir of Emil Willimetz, a member of the 29th Division in the battle for France, published in the summer 2001 issue of this journal (now, alas, out of print). His is the voice of a foot-slogging cog in the machine. In this issue we present a slightly different view of the Second World War, this from the bridge of a U.S. Navy supply ship in the Pacific.

In 1944, Eastern Shore native C. Homer Bast, educated at the University of Virginia and an experienced ship captain, was given command of *LST 677,* a ship with no name, its number indicative of the war's emphasis on mass production. Designed to land tanks on foreign shores, hostile or not, she was converted into a "mother" ship, whose mission was to provide supplies, particularly food and water, to other ships. In a few months Lieutenant Bast and his crew of 140 novice sailors found themselves anchored off the coast of Okinawa, charged with supplying the numerous smaller vessels of the American landing force. They also spent long hours watching the skies overhead, for, as the U.S. hurled marines, soldiers, sailors, and tons of steel and explosives at Okinawa, Japan lashed back with blood and fire. While Japanese infantry stubbornly held the Americans in place, waves of bombers and kamikazes swept overhead in a series of deadly Kikusui—"floating carnations"—wreaking havoc on the U.S. fleet. "One hundred kamikazes and their escorting fighters hit the pickets with skill, daring, and numbers," Bast re-

called of the air attack called Kikusui III. "Frantically weaving, maneuvering vessels, with all guns firing, lashed the water into foam. Numbers of enemy disintegrated in flashes of fire and streaming smoke, plunged into the sea." Of his ship's role in one attack Bast writes, "Suddenly the aircraft turned as the pilot tried to suicide. . . . He miscalculated, . . . a flash, flame and smoke, and then the plane disappeared in the sea, . . . all of us jumped around like kids. We had our first enemy!" Lieutenant Bast and his "boys" withstood more than two hundred such attacks over the course of eighty-nine days.

Bast also weathered the usual pettiness, bullying, belittlement, and claims of entitled privilege that infect military organizations. Through it all—typhoons, collisions, the incessant calls to "General Quarters"—he kept a firm and kindly eye on his "boys," resting them whenever he could, making sure the food was good, keeping up morale, always trying to be fair. "I cannot believe I am going home," he said on receiving his orders in November 1945. "Neither can I put down in any meaningful way my feelings of how I have lived, worked and been through tough times with this group of boys who have become men. The only thing I can say now is that I love them all. . . ."

Lately much has been made of the "greatest generation's" heroism and sacrifice. Homer Bast's remembrance of war is one example, doubtless among many, of another quality in that generation: its valiant attempt to preserve the best of the human spirit in the face of overwhelming, impersonal forces.

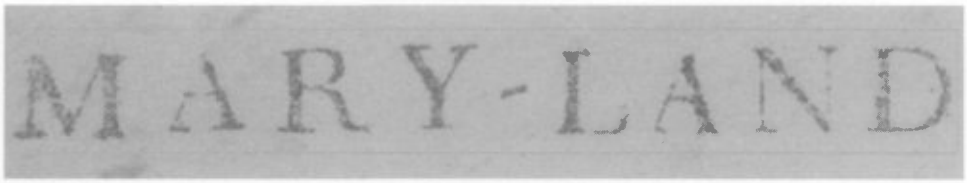
R.I.C.

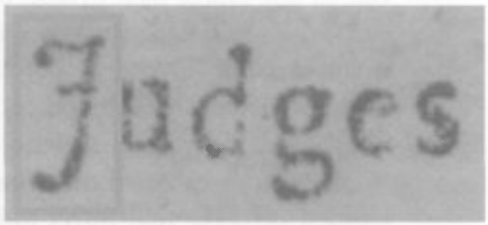
Cover

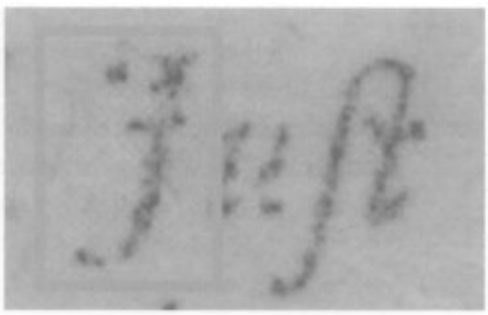
Annapolis Navy Yard, c. 1892

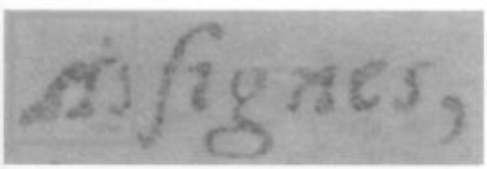
A portion of the grounds of the U.S. Naval Academy, traditionally referred to as the "Yard," are seen in this photograph taken from the cemetery. The ships are at too great a distance to positively identify, but the three-masted vessel tied at the wharf is most likely the U.S.S. *Santee*. The vessel in the river could be either the U.S.F. *Constellation*, used as a training vessel, or the U.S.S. *Essex*. Both ships were at the academy in 1892. (Maryland Historical Society.)

P.D.A./Jennifer Bryan, Nimitz Library

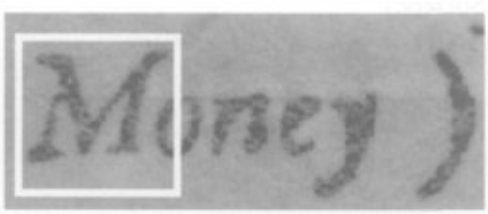








MARTLAND, Printed by *William Nuthead* at the City of St. *Maries*. *Re-printed in* LONDON, *and Sold by* Randal Taylor *near* Stationers Hall, 1689.



Much Ado About Nuthead: A Revised History of Printing in Seventeenth-Century Maryland

ROD COFIELD

After John Coode led a successful rebellion against Lord Baltimore's Maryland government in 1689, Coode and his compatriots drew up their reasons for the rebellion. When the documents explaining the reasons behind this rebellion arrived in London, included within the shipment was a printed one-page broadside, *The Address of the Representatives.* At the bottom of the page are the printed words, "Maryland printed by order of the Assembly at the Citty of St. Maryes August 26th 1689," and below them is John Lewellin's hand-scrawled note, "this is a true copy of the original."[1] A second document appeared in London at the same time, this one titled *The Declaration of the Reasons and Motives.* Its colophon includes the phrase, "Printed by *William Nuthead* at the City of St. *Maries.*"[2] Taken together, these documents are enough to provide firm proof that in 1689 a printer named William Nuthead lived and worked in St. Mary's City.

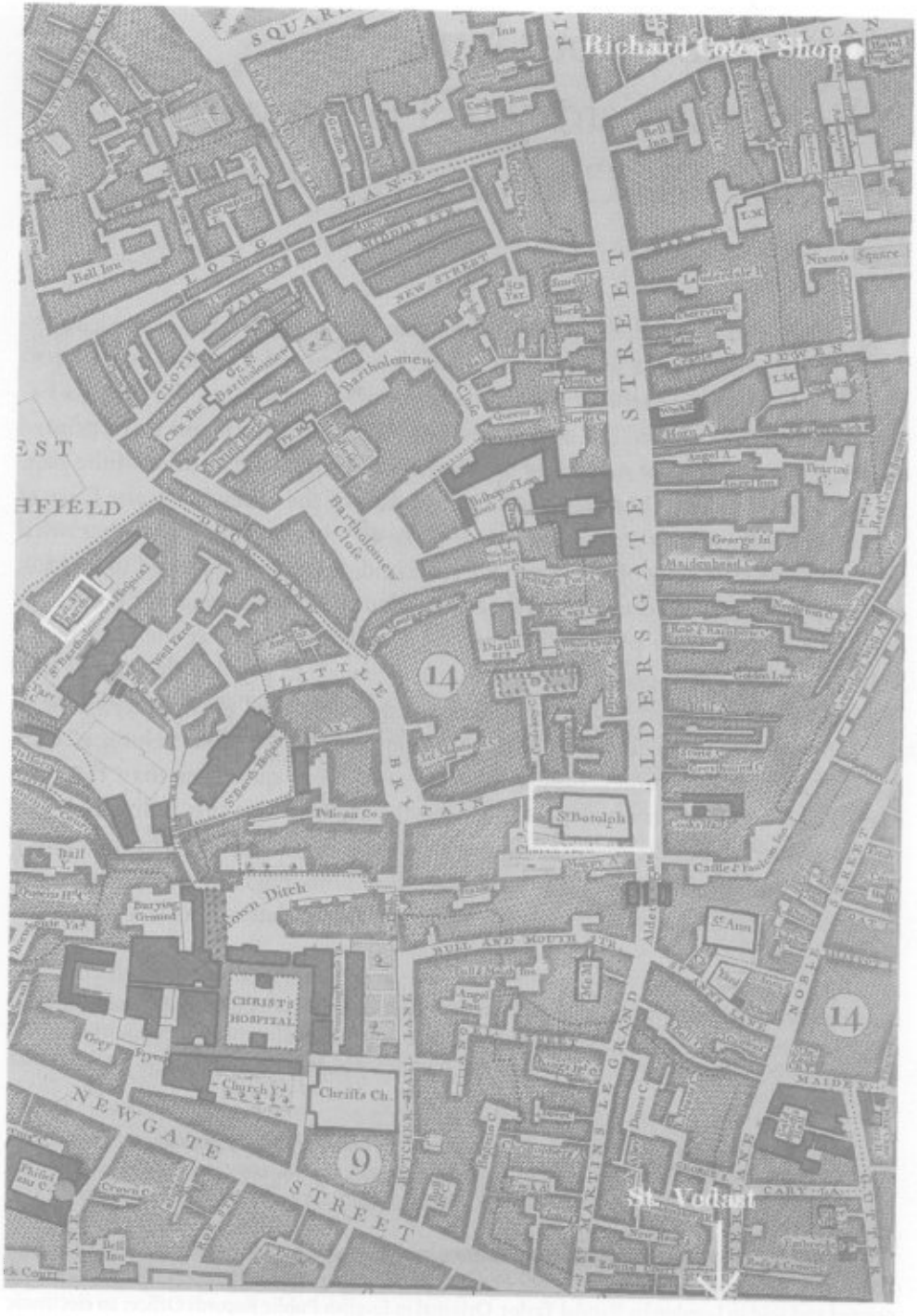
Although these documents tell us the whereabouts of William Nuthead during one particular summer, they ultimately raise more questions than they answer. The first question involves William Nuthead. Who was this individual who came to Maryland in the seventeenth century to work as a printer? The next query involves motive. Why would a printer leave populous England and come to ply his trade in the Chesapeake region where the total population was less than Lon-

Thanks and acknowledgements go to the staff of Historic St. Mary's City and the Maryland State Archives. In particular Henry Miller, Tim Riordan, Silas Hurry, and Dorsey Bodeman at Historic St. Mary's City, Ed Papenfuse at the Maryland State Archives, and Jennifer Copeland at the Maryland Historical Society.

[1] The full title is *The Address of the Representatives of their Majestyes Protestant Subjects, in the Province of Mary-Land Assembled*, August 26, 1689. The only known copy is in the English Public Records Office; an electronic copy is available at the Maryland State Archives (hereinafter cites MSA), SC M 3207.

[2] The full title is *The Declaration of the Reasons and Motives for the Present Appearing in Arms of Their Majesties Protestant Subjects in the Province of Maryland*, licensed November 28, 1689, reprinted and sold in London by Randal Taylor. Original in English Public Records Office; an electronic copy is available at the MSA, SC M 3207. The only surviving copy is not a Nuthead imprint, yet his name is attributed to the original document.

Rod Cofield is Education Coordinator at Historic St. Mary's City.



Map of London, 1746, *by John Rocque. (Courtesy Motco Enterprises Limited, London, 2004).*

don itself?[3] After discovering his motive, one must naturally inquire about Nuthead's time at St. Mary's City and what he printed there. It is ludicrous to believe that Nuthead printed only the documents previously noted.

Fortunately, enough documentary and archaeological evidence exists to more fully illuminate William Nuthead's life and work, to explore the role played by his wife Dinah, the first licensed woman printer in English America, and to raise the possibility of another seventeenth-century printing press in Maryland.

The only reference to William Nuthead's age is a deposition taken before the Council on October 14, 1693, during which he stated his age as, "Thirty Nine years or thereabouts."[4] This places Nuthead's year of birth at approximately 1654. Fortunately, the surname Nuthead is not common, and a search of the available London records reveals only a few individuals with the Nuthead name. The first of interest to this study is one Thomas Nuthead, who married Elizabeth at St. Vedast on Foster Lane in London on August 9, 1612.[5] This is important, for on July 1, 1644, a Thomas Nuthead, London citizen and goldsmith, apprenticed his son William to the printer Richard Cotes, official printer of London. Cotes's shop was located at the Barbican on Aldersgate Street. At the end of the traditional eight-year apprenticeship, on July 5, 1652, Cotes released young William Nuthead from service.[6] Due to the slightly relaxed restrictions on printing during the Interregnum (discussed later), the currently available Stationers' Company records do not provide any more information about this particular William Nuthead. Unfortunately, Cotes died on January 13, 1653, and left part of his estate to his new apprentice, William Godbid.[7]

The next three records of interest are a christening of Susan Nuthead, child of William and Susana Nuthead, on April 27, 1656, at St. Botolph without Aldersgate, London. Another christening occurred on February 28, 1658, this one of a Susanna Nuthead, child of William and Susana Nuthead, again at St. Botolph without Aldersgate, London.[8] And on November 23, 1661, a Susan Nuthead married Rich-

[3] There is no true census figure for the Chesapeake region (Virginia and Maryland) in the 1680s, but current estimates place the number at approximately 45,000. John J. McKusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1689* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 136. In 1631, London's population is measured at 130,268, Vanessa Harding, "The Population of London, 1500–1700," *The London Journal*, 15 (1990): 111–28.

[4] William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972) 20: 33–34. (Hereinafter cited *Arch. Md.*)

[5] May 19, 2004, www.familysearch.org, FHL British Fiche, Call # 6903671, Marriages A thru Z 1558–1837.

[6] Email correspondence with Dr. Matthew Groom, Stationers' Company archivist, May 19, 2004. T.C. Dale, *The Inhabitants of London 1638*, Lambeth Palace Library, 1931.

[7] Henry Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland From 1641 to 1667* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1968), 53.

[8] May 19, 2004, www.familysearch.org, FHL British Fiche, Call # 6903849. The records for this second christening list the parents as Willia and Susan. If one assumes that these names are missing

ard Smith, London citizen and dyer, at St. Bartholomew the Less, London. The son of this Richard Smith, also named Richard Smith, was apprenticed to a printer in 1666.[9] When considered alone, these London records offer a tantalizing hint of a connection between these London Nutheads and the William Nuthead of St. Mary's City, but the addition of a few Maryland records enables one to draw a more substantial conclusion.

On December 10, 1700, the last will and testament of Manus Devoran was recorded in Anne Arundel County. In his will the step-children William and Susan Nuthead, the biological children of Manus' wife Dinah, each received one horse.[10] On February 7, 1709, the court appointed William Taylard guardian of "William Nuthead, Susannah Nuthead, and Sebastian Oely, children of the s^{d} Dinah Oley, lately called Dinah Devoran."[11] This is of particular importance. On February 7, 1695, one Dinah Nuthead appeared before the Maryland Prerogative Court and requested permission to serve as administrator of her late husband William's estate as he had died intestate.[12] This request, coupled with Dinah Nuthead's May 1696 petition for a printer's license, adds additional evidence in support of the conclusion that the William and Susan(nah) Nuthead mentioned in Devoran's will and the Taylard-Oley indenture are the children of the St. Mary's City printer, William Nuthead.[13]

After considering these facts, a highly probable connection between the London records and Maryland records presents itself. The timing and circumstances surrounding these records indicate that the William Nuthead of St. Mary's City is the grandson of the aforementioned Thomas Nuthead and the son of the London William Nuthead. The London William finished his apprenticeship in mid-1652 and shortly thereafter children of a William Nuthead appear in the surviving records. The testimony of the Maryland William places his birth date at approximately 1654. The London William is probably the father of the elder Maryland William. Three additional facts bolster this connection. The London William was trained as a printer, and his probable widow, Susana, married a man whose own son became a printer. This information helps explain how the Maryland Nuthead learned the printing trade. One more fact concerns the location of these events.

their last letter, the names William and Susana are possible. It is unclear if the first daughter died or if two girls existed with slightly different names.

[9] May 19, 2004, www.familysearch.org, FHL British Fiche, Call # 6909369. Email correspondence with Dr. Matthew Groom, Stationers' Company archivist, May 24, 2004. Due to the paucity of Nutheads in the record, the simplest conclusion is that this Susana Nuthead is the widow of William, perhaps deceased.

[10] Wills of the Prerogative Court, 11:36, Maryland State Archives; Jane Baldwin Cotton and Roberta B. Henry, *The Maryland Calendar of Wills* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1968) 2:210. William's horse is named Ranger; there is no name for Susan's.

[11] Anne Arundel County deed books, Liber W. T. No. 2, page 684, MSA.

[12] Testamentary Proceedings 1692–94, 15: 171 ms., MSA.

[13] *Arch. Md*, 19: 306–7, 20: 449.

An examination of the London map on page 10 shows that all of the places mentioned are situated within a half-mile of each other. And lastly, the fact that the Maryland William Nuthead chose to name his children William and Susan(nah) indicates a family naming pattern that connects the Maryland and the London Nutheads. Admittedly, a record of a William Nuthead born in London around 1654 would be ideal, but until and unless that is found, all available evidence points to the conclusion that the elder William Nuthead who appears in the Maryland records is the son of the William Nuthead in the London records. Now that the lineage of the William Nuthead who lived in Maryland during the summer of 1689 is better explained, his motives for coming to the Chesapeake region must be examined.

Control of the Press

The restrictions on printing during the seventeenth century did not allow printing to easily spread throughout the English realm. Governmental control of printing can be traced back to Henry VIII's proclamations in 1534. Henry's daughter, Mary I, chartered a London guild called the Stationers' Company in 1557 as an additional means of controlling the press. The premise of the Stationers' Company was that in order to practice their trade in England, printers had to be members of this guild. To print a particular item, a printer had to record the piece's title and a short description of the work in the Company's records. Once the guild licensed that work to a specific printer, no one else could legally print it without permission from the holder of the original license. These licenses were thought of as stocks and could be traded, inherited, or bequeathed within the legal printing community. The arrangement guaranteed the Stationers' Company a virtual monopoly on printed works as long as the company policed itself and followed governmental guidelines.[14]

For roughly ninety years the system functioned more or less as intended. Although smugglers did bring illegal material into the country, the members of the Stationers' Company did not complain overly much, and the government directed most of its resources toward prosecuting the most egregious offences. The English Civil War, the concurrent debate about what exactly press freedom entailed, and the explosion of printed matter during the 1640s and 1650s caused the future Charles II to harbor a prejudice against unrestricted press freedom.[15] When Charles regained the throne in 1660, he urged Parliament to pass legislation that would place more restrictions on English printing. In one speech, Charles

[14] Lois G. Schwoerer, "Liberty of the Press and Public Opinion: 1660–1695," in J. R. Jones, ed., *Liberty Secured?: Britain Before and After 1688* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 199–202.

[15] Michael Mendle, "De Facto Freedom, De Facto Authority: Press and Parliament, 1640–1643," *The Historical Journal*, 38 (1995): 307–32. Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Censorship & The Control of Print in England and France 1600–1910* (Winchester, UK: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1992).

blamed the "Liberty of the Press" for the "late rebellion in the Kingdom and Schisms in the Church." He also stated his opinion that after controlling the armed forces, controlling the press is "most (conducive) to the securing (of) the Peace of the Kingdom." On May 19, 1662, Charles's wishes became law in the form of the Licensing Act.

The basic parameters of the Licensing Act stated that before any book could be printed it must pass before a censor. A secretary of state reviewed political and history books, the Lord Chancellor censored law publications, and religious, philosophical, and other works fell to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. After passing the censors, the book's title then entered into the Stationers' Company register in the same manner as described above. One of the most restrictive aspects of this act limited who could print, and where, within the English realm. Printing was limited to London, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and a very limited amount in York. In London the number of practicing master printers was limited to twenty. This numerical limitation also affected journeymen printers and apprentices. The king's printer and the university presses were not part of this number.[16]

Printing in the Chesapeake

The question of freedom of the press in mid-seventeenth-century England does not appear to have any immediate bearing on William Nuthead's motive for moving to the Chesapeake region. One clue resides in the proceedings of a meeting of the Virginia Council in Jamestown on February 21, 1683. The Council asked a merchant named John Buckner about the printing of the previous November's Assembly Acts. Buckner replied that he had commanded the printer not to print until he granted him leave to do so and that only two sheets had been printed as examples for the Council's perusal. The Council then required a £100 bond from Buckner and William Nuthead to cease printing until the king decided upon the matter.[17] This is important; Virginia had been a royal colony since 1624 and the same restrictions of the Licensing Act were supposedly in effect in Virginia.[18] If those restrictions were in place during the 1680s, why would Buckner and Nuthead risk prosecution by bringing a printing press to Virginia? The Exclusion Crisis of 1679 provides the answer.

In 1679 a question regarding Charles II's brother James's validity as successor to Charles allowed the Licensing Act to expire. Political factions within and outside the English government did not want the Catholic James to succeed to the

[16] Schwoerer, "Liberty of the Press," 202–30.

[17] J. W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1681–1685* (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964), 390. The common assumption is that the William Nulhead [sic] in these records is the same William Nuthead of St. Mary's City fame. Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland: 1686–1776* (Baltimore: Typothetae of Baltimore, 1922), 4.

[18] Wesley Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607–1689* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), 148.

throne. The prevailing theory of why the Licensing Act was allowed to expire is that by not having so tight a restriction on the English presses, it would be easier for James's opponents to voice their opinions while gaining public support.[19] Shortly after the Licensing Act lapsed, a newspaper, not sanctioned by the government, began publication, and in 1680 the Whig party convinced the House of Commons to print its votes for the public record.[20] Though the Licensing Act expired, the Crown could rely on the precedent of the printing restrictions in place prior to the act and retain some authority through royal proclamations. This relative freedom of the press lasted until James II's first Parliament, when in July 1685 Parliament reinstated the Licensing Act.[21]

Though the exact reasoning behind John Buckner and William Nuthead's printing venture in Virginia remains a mystery, the reason they had an opportunity to practice the trade becomes evident in light of the events in England. The power of the Crown over printing also becomes evident, with or without Parliamentary legislation.

On September 29, 1683, after Buckner and Nuthead had posted the £100 bond, the Lords of Trade in London read the Virginia Council's February account of the events concerning printing in Virginia. After considering the matter and passing it on to the Crown, the Lords of Trade, on December 14, 1683, approved the king's letter to Virginia's new royal governor, Francis Howard (Lord Effingham), which stated, "no person may be permitted to use any press for printing upon any occasion whatsoever."[22] This obvious statement of royal power essentially decreed that until otherwise notified, no one could legally print in any royal colony during Charles's rule. On February 10, 1684, Lord Effingham arrived in the Chesapeake, royal papers in hand, and ended Virginia's first printing venture.[23] Unless William Nuthead wanted to give up printing and raise tobacco or move back to England, his only recourse was to find a place that might accommodate a printing press. Fortunately for him, Maryland, just a short distance away, was a proprietary colony that did not have to abide by the Crown's printing restrictions.[24]

For the past seventy years the accepted timeline for William Nuthead's activities in the Chesapeake had a gap of one to two years between the arrival of Lord

[19] Timothy Crist, "Government Control of the Press After the Expiration of the Printing Act in 1679," *Publishing History*, 5 (1979): 49–78.

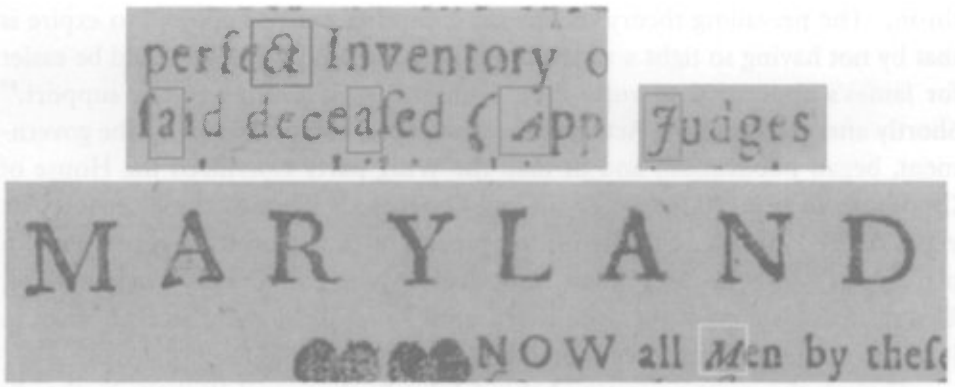
[20] Schwoerer, "Liberty of the Press," 213.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Fortescue, *Calendar of State Papers*, 1426, 1428.

[23] Date deduced from letter to Philadelphia Pelham Howard, in Warren M. Billings, ed., *The Papers of Francis Howard Baron Howard of Effingham 1643–1695* (Richmond: Virginia State Library and Archives, 1989), 46. Virginia would not have a resident printer until 1732. The printer's name was William Parks who had opened a branch office in Williamsburg in 1730. Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer*, 2nd edition (Charlottesville, Va.: Dominion Books, 1964), 42.

[24] For a good explanation about the legal differences between royal and proprietary colonies see



Format A sample text

Effingham in Virginia and the August 31, 1685, bill that Lawrence Wroth attributed to him.[25] This gap has widened as researchers failed to date the records accurately and mistakenly attributed the Virginia Council's February session to 1682 instead of 1683.[26] Yet these past seventy years have also allowed various repositories such as the Maryland State Archives to better organize and store their collections. Their invaluable work has opened a large number of printed and written documents to researchers and made it possible to fill the previously existing gap.

As mentioned earlier, the current prevailing thought on the earliest date for printing in seventeenth-century Maryland is August 31, 1685. These new documents, however, allow us to fix an earlier date, March 31, 1684, only one and a half months after Lord Effingham arrived in the Chesapeake—a reasonable amount of time for William Nuthead to have received the proclamation, moved to Maryland, and set up the press. Additionally, Nuthead may have received assistance from the unnamed Maryland official Lord Baltimore sent to welcome Lord Effingham to Virginia.[27]

The March 31, 1684, document is one of sixteen administration bonds scattered among the county and state court records at the Maryland State Archives. These bonds (Format A sample text) date from March 31, 1684, to October 21, 1685. The format A documents are of interest as they contain ornamentation that is lacking on every other known document printed in seventeenth-century Maryland. Possibly the ornamentation resulted from Nuthead's desire to impress the

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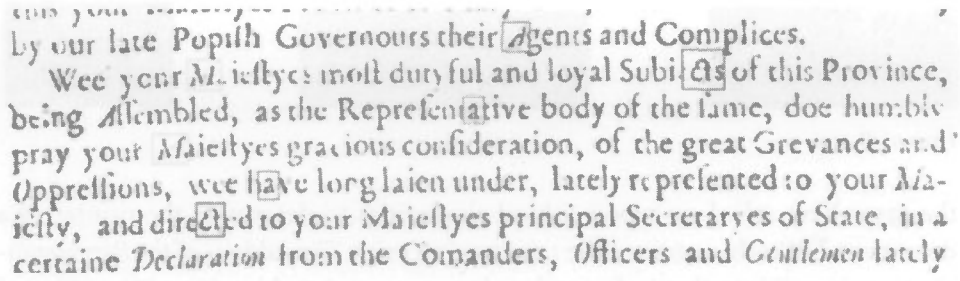
St. George Leakin Sioussat's *The English Statutes in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1903).

[25] Wroth, *A History of Printing in Maryland.* Edwin Wolf, "The Origins of Early American Printing Shops," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, 35 (1978): 198–209.

[26] J. C. Oswald, *Printing in the Americas* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1965), 89.

[27] Billings, *Francis Howard*, 58.


by our late Popiſh Governours their Agents and Complices.

Wee your Maieſtyes moſt dutyful and loyal Subiects of this Province, being Aſſembled, as the Repreſentative body of the ſame, doe humbly pray your Maieſtyes gracious conſideration, of the great Grevances and Oppreſſions, wee have long laien under, lately repreſented to your Maieſty, and directed to your Maieſtyes principal Secretaryes of State, in a certaine *Declaration* from the Comanders, Officers and *Gentlemen* lately

Address . . . *sample text*

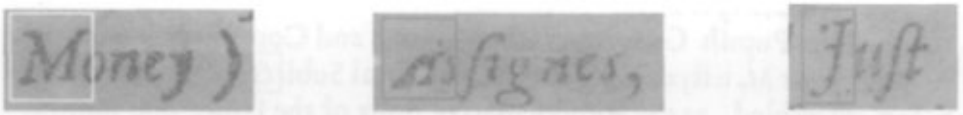
Maryland government and gain permission to operate a press. Once that was accomplished, he perhaps believed he did not have to use ornamentation any more. We may never know his reason for including the ornamentation, but a twentieth-century archaeological find—a piece of lead type with a fleuron on its head discovered at a St. Mary's City site—supports the fact that someone owned pieces of ornamental type in the seventeenth century.[28] Though we do not know who owned that piece of type (or the other three pieces found at the same site), it can be dated to the approximate time that Nuthead lived in St. Mary's City and supports the claim that he printed the format A documents.

Another bit of evidence is a manuscript of a cash account for 1684 and 1685, made out to "The Honourable Coll° W^m^ Diggs D^r^." During these two years William Diggs served as chief judge of the probate court, and these accounts probably reflect transactions that occurred in his tenure. Included in the month of November 1685, is an entry "To W^m^ Nuttheads bill, 1650 lbs tob°." Wroth's conclusion from this entry, supported by the then-editor of the *Archives of Maryland*, was that the William Nutthead who submitted the bill was William Nuthead the printer. Wroth also believed that the large quantity of tobacco the colony owed Nuthead indicated that he must have been employed for a number of months. Wroth used this manuscript to help corroborate attribution of the August 31, 1685, bill to Nuthead.[29] With the discovery of the format A administration bonds, the cash account can also be used to corroborate the attribution of these documents.

Timing, archaeology, and manuscript evidence all support the argument for attributing the format A documents to William Nuthead. Additional evidence is found in a typographical analysis of the printed documents that Wroth had earlier attributed to the St. Mary's City printer. Since blank forms such as administration bonds do not normally have the printer's name on them, researchers since

[28] Henry Miller, unpublished site report, Historic St. Mary's City, 1977, 3.

[29] Wroth, "The St. Mary's City Press: A New Chronology of American Printing," *The Colophon, New Series*, Volume 1, No. 3 (Winter 1936): 333–57. Unfortunately the manuscript cash account could not be located at either the Maryland State Archives or the Maryland Historical Society.



Format B text

the 1930s have relied on typographical similarities to determine the printer of a document.[30] Wroth examined the type used to print *The Address of the Representatives,* compared it to that in four other documents printed in 1685, 1686, 1688, and 1693, and concluded that those four documents were printed on Nuthead's press. The double pica roman type, the great primer italic, the great primer roman, and numerous capital letters found in *The Address* and the other four documents are identical.[31]

Wroth's method also established a similarity between the format A documents and *The Address*, the 1686 document, and a 1696 document attributed to Dinah Nuthead.[32] The format A documents share pica italics (examine the "*M*" and "*A*" in *The Address* as well as those same letters in the format B document and the "*J*" in the format B document), pica romans (examine the "a" and "ct" in *The Address*), and capitals with the 1696 document.

These are just a few of the similarities between the format A documents and the documents that have previously been attributed to William Nuthead. Based on these many similarities, as well as the chronological, archaeological, and manuscript evidence, the format A documents should also be attributed to William Nuthead. The alternative, as Wroth writes, "is to suggest that they were printed in England . . . or Massachusetts."[33] This alternative is suspect, for there are no printed documents in either the county or colonial court records for the years preceding the March 31, 1684, administration bond. This absence of printed documents indicates a general lack of legal documents imported into the seventeenth-century Maryland colony.[34] Furthermore, if one questions the attribution of the format A documents to William Nuthead on typographical grounds, the attribution of many seventeenth-century printed documents must be reexamined to correct decades of possibly mistaken conclusions. Since this is unlikely, the attribution of the format A documents to William Nuthead allows the date of the first printing in Maryland to be moved back by exactly seventeen months to March 31, 1684 and

[30] Wroth, "A New Chronology of American Painting," 340–45.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., 345.

[34] The *Archives of Maryland* has one reference to printed bonds being delivered to Maryland before 1684 so that the Navigation Acts could be better enforced. MSA, Volume 5, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1667–1687/8*, 449. There is also one other reference, March 21, 1657, to printed documents arriving in Maryland when a group of indentured servants from Holland had their printed indenture forms with them. *Arch. Md.*, 10:494.

solidifies Nuthead's position as the fourth printer in English America and the first outside Massachusetts.

With the period of William Nuthead's arrival in Maryland fairly settled, the next step is to develop a clearer picture of his activities by determining what types of documents he printed and when he did the work. William Bradford explicitly stated what he and his fellow colonial printers made when he wrote in *Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense*, "I propose to print blank Bills, Bonds, Letters of Attourney, Indentures, Warrants, &c."[35] Seventeenth-century American printers depended heavily "upon the production and sale of blank forms—the printed legal and commercial forms such as bonds, writs, clearance papers, and the like, used by public officers, lawyers, merchants, and mariners in the prosecution of their business."[36] As students of American printing know, the first printed document in English America was a blank form, the "Freeman's Oath," printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1639.

The obvious means by which to determine what documents Nuthead printed, and when he printed them, is to undertake a survey of document repositories to see whether any seventeenth-century printed documents survive. Wroth undertook the last such survey in the 1930s. With the assistance of the Maryland Land Office staff, he uncovered four printed documents eventually attributed to William Nuthead and five more attributed to Dinah Nuthead. No two documents are of the same press run. The four attributed to William are the August 31, 1685, bill obligatory (listed as form "a" by Wroth), a December 20, 1686, administrators' bond (form "b"), a July 23, 1688, personal bond (form "c"), and a June 26, 1693, administrators' bond (form "d"). The five documents attributed to Dinah are an August 31, 1696, appraisers' warrant (form "e"), a September 30, 1696, administrators' bond (form "f"), a January 4, 1698, letters testamentary (form "g"), an April 16, 1702, appraisers' warrant (form "h"), and a September 11, 1699, administrators' bond (form "i").[37]

As mentioned earlier, the last seventy years have allowed many colonial documents to become better integrated into the collections in public and private repositories. A recent survey of county and state court records at the Maryland State Archives has led to the discovery of many more printed documents that can possibly be attributed to either William or Dinah Nuthead. In addition to the sixteen format A administration bonds described earlier, the following table shows most of Wroth's documents as well as the newly discovered printed documents, the first and last date for each format, the number of each format, and if appropriate, the corresponding Wroth form. Unfortunately, the 1702 appraiser's war-

[35] William Bradford, *Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense*, December 1685, 3.
[36] Wroth, "A New Chronology," 338.
[37] Ibid., 354–57. I believe form "g" is actually dated June 14, 1698.

TABLE 1: LIST OF FORMS PRINTED IN EARLY MARYLAND

Format	Type	First Date	Last Date	Number	Wroth Form
A	Administration Bond	March 31, 1684	October 21, 1685	16	N/A
B	Administration Bond	December 20, 1686	December 13, 1688	35	b
C	Administration Bond	April 19, 1693	June 5 , 1702	44	d
D	Administration Bond	July 4 , 1696	August 30, 1698	17	f
E	Administration Bond	December 16, 1698	May 30, 1699	4	N/A
F	Administration Bond	March 9, 1699	June 29, 1699	2	N/A
G	Appraiser's Bond	August 31, 1696	January 11, 1697	2	e
H	Bill Obligatory	August 31, 1685	N/A	1	a
I	Bill Obligatory	September 23, 1690	N/A	1	N/A
J	Bill Obligatory	August 7, 1694	N/A	1	N/A
K	Bill Obligatory	March 21, 1695	May 6, 1695	2	N/A
L	Personal Bond	June 21, 1687	N/A	1	N/A
M	Personal Bond	July 23, 1688	February 18, 1693*	2	c
N	Bill Obligatory	April 12, 1697*	N/A	1	N/A
O	Letters Testamentary	June 14, 1698*	N/A	1	g

The documents marked by an asterisk are held by the Maryland Historical Society

rant and the September 11, 1699, administration bond could not be found and only a photocopy of the August 31, 1685, bill obligatory is known.

As Table 1 shows, more than 125 printed documents reside in the Maryland State Archives and three in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. With the notable exceptions of *The Address* and *The Declaration,* all are those blank forms that Wroth described as the main jobs for seventeenth-century colonial printers. If one looks only at the dates contained within the table and the Wroth information, a tempting conclusion can be drawn from these data: The Nutheads, either William or Dinah, printed documents from March 1684 through 1702. That is not the case.

Although Dinah Nuthead received a license to print after William died, making her the first licensed woman printer in English America, it is highly unlikely that she continued to print until 1702.[38] One cause for doubt is William Bladen's October 1, 1696, request to the Maryland Assembly for permission to acquire a printing press for use in Maryland.[39] This request does not indicate that Dinah Nuthead stopped printing a short six months after receiving her license on May 14, 1696, but that that a well-connected government official was interested in developing his own printing venture.[40] Bladen finally received a press and a printer, Thomas Reading, to operate it by May 1700. He then convinced the lower house to agree to the council's request that he be given sole authority to publish govern-

[38] *Arch. Md.*, 19:370. Ibid., 20:449.
[39] Ibid., 19:466–67.
[40] Ibid., 20:449.

ment and legal documents (except for special writs) after September 10, 1700, as compensation for his trouble procuring a "press, letters, papers, ink, and printer." The arrangement included set prices for each document.[41] If Dinah continued her printing business after September 10, 1700, the government was no longer a customer. This legislation, together with the lack of a printing press in her husband Manus Devoran's will and inventory, indicates that by the time Bladen and Reading started their venture, Dinah was no longer printing.[42] Additionally, only two documents have been discovered with a 1702 date that could possibly be attributed to Dinah.[43] One, which can no longer be found, was attributed to her by Wroth. The other one is part of a press run printed before April 19, 1693. The idea that a Nuthead printed documents until 1702 can be put to rest.

Most of the documents in the table above can easily be attributed to William or Dinah Nuthead. William is mentioned in the legislative records many times as the recipient of tobacco for governmental work. The paper used for printing is consistent among all but one of the documents and the same font styles are used repeatedly. William and Dinah are the only printers known to have been in Maryland during the dates spanning of most of these documents.[44] One more step must be taken, however, before we can eliminate other possibilities—an examination of the documents pertaining to the arrival, governorship, and death of Sir Lionel Copley, Maryland's first royal governor.

On February 1, 1692, Lionel Copley's ship left England, bound for Maryland.[45] Included with his instructions as Royal Governor are these lines:

> And forasmuch as great inconveniences may arise by the Liberty of Printing within our Province of Maryland, you are to provide by all necessary Orders that no person use any Press for printing upon any occasion whatsoever without your special License first obtained.[46]

Copley arrived in Maryland a few months later, in late spring.[47] From that

[41] *Arch. Md.*, 24, 22, and 60.

[42] Cotton, *Calendar of Wills*, 2:210. Devoran's inventory is located in the Prerogative Court's Inventories and Accounts, 1700–1701, 20: 161, MSA. Though no press is listed, a ream of paper is mentioned.

[43] An interesting aside to this discussion about when Dinah stopped printing and when Reading began, is that when comparing Nuthead documents to Reading documents, the fonts are completely different. And the paper, with the exception of the Letters Testamentary document, is thicker and darker for the Reading documents when compared to the Nuthead documents.

[44] From 1685 to 1694 the available records indicate Nuthead received at least 14,020 pounds of tobacco from the Maryland government. *Arch. Md.*, 13:131, 38:33–37.

[45] David Jordan, *The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland, 1689–1715* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1966), 73.

[46] *Arch.Md.*, 8:279.

[47] Lois Carr and David Jordan, Maryland's Revolution in Government (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 179.

time on, if William Nuthead wanted to continue printing in Maryland, he needed a license, a detail that should not have presented any sort of problem. The situation grows complicated in that when Copley died the following year, his inventory listed a printing press and related material.[48] Until now the press listed on Lionel Copley's inventory has been publicly mentioned once and discussed among a few individuals at Historic St. Mary's City and the Maryland State Archives.[49] And until now no one has attempted to reconcile the question of two printing presses in St. Mary's City. In order to determine a connection between Copley and Nuthead's printing operations, a review of historical events and the governmental records is required.

Governor Copley did not arrive in Maryland until April 1692. Death cut short his tenure as Royal Governor on September 7, 1693.[50] This indicates that the forty-four format C administration bonds (Wroth's form "d") were printed when two presses may have operated in St. Mary's City and therefore cannot, with absolute certainty, be attributed to William Nuthead.[51]

So the question remains, who printed the format C documents? Did a servant operate the press listed in Copley's inventory, or did Governor Copley and William Nuthead reach an arrangement concerning printing in Maryland? The answer is found in the estate administration documents filed with the court after Copley's death.

After Copley died, the administration of his estate was turned over to Thomas Tench. The administration records contain vital clues to William Nuthead's relationship to the governor. In an October 2, 1695, testimony involving Miles Burrough as a defendant in a case against Tench, as administrator of Copley's estate, is a list of payments disbursed to various individuals. The list includes, "By D° in favour of Nuthead . . . 840 lbs."[52] Although this bit of evidence links Nuthead to Copley, the exact nature of their relationship cannot be determined from this testimony.

A 1699 record, again involving Thomas Tench as administrator of Governor Copley's estate, provides more detailed evidence. In describing errors in the inventory, "moiety of 30 [pounds] Sterling for blanks mentioned in the inventory being the printer's . . . 15.0.0." The following page in the same account shows that

[48] See the transcription of Copley's inventory involving the press. Inventories of the Prerogative Court, S536-17, MSA.

[49] Annie Leakin Sioussat, "Lionel Copley, First Royal Governor of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 17 (1922): 163–77.

[50] *Arch. Md.*, 20:120.

[51] It is obvious that the documents with dates before Copley's arrival could not have been produced during Copley's governorship. The earliest documents that have dates on them after Copley's death were produced sufficiently long after his death that the probability of their having been printed during his life is small.

[52] *Arch. Md.*, 77:48–50.

Copley's estate owed William Nuthead 1580 pounds of tobacco.[53] Although the printer's name is not given in the first reference, the only individual in the Maryland records at this time who is listed as a printer is William Nuthead. It is therefore obvious that per Nuthead's arrangement with the governor, he received a half-share of the cost of the documents printed on the press listed in Copley's inventory.

This evidence reinforces the statement that William Nuthead printed the format C documents, yet it raises two additional questions. What happened to the press listed in Copley's inventory, and why is a press also enumerated in William Nuthead's estate? Both questions can be answered with the same explanation.

A pattern emerges in the surviving documents. In Virginia, John Buckner's relationship with Nuthead was that of a patron. The individual summoned before the Council was Buckner, who answered the question about printing by stating "[I] had given the printer order to print nothing without the Governor's license."[54] In Maryland, the October 14, 1693, deposition that gives us William's approximate age also contains the words, "the Press and Letters were none of his."[55] And in 1694, William Taylard purchased the land containing the printing house.[56] This is the same William Taylard who, along with Robert Carville, posted the £100 bond assuring the Council that Dinah Nuthead would only print documents allowed by the Council and governor.[57] Consequently, William Nuthead probably did not own the printing press until close to 1695, since it passed from one patron to another until after Copley's death. This, coupled with the fact that all of the printed documents are exact typographical matches, is the most straightforward answer to the questions posed above.

The historical references surrounding Dinah Nuthead are even fewer than those pertaining to William. The first notice of Dinah Nuthead is her appearance before the Prerogative Court on February 7, 1695. The only information to be gleaned from this record is that her husband, William, died intestate and that she wanted to administer his estate. The court approved her request. Her name then appears three times in a Somerset County court case. Judicial records indicate that Dinah, as "administratrix" of William's estate, had to pay Peter Dent 500 pounds of tobacco for fifty pounds that her husband had purchased on May 30,

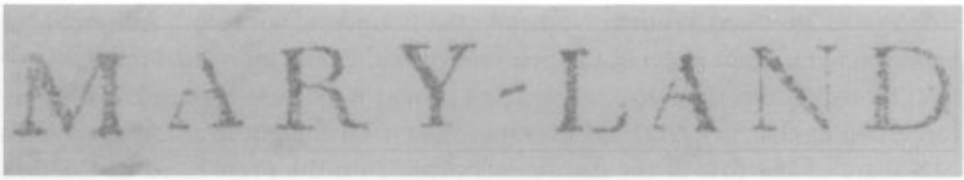
[53] Prerogative Court, Inventories and Accounts, S536, 1699–1700, 19½B, folio 54–60, MSA.

[54] Fortescue, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1681–1685,* Vol. 11, 960 and 961.

[55] *Arch. Md.*, 20:33–34.

[56] Provincial Court Deeds, WRC#1, May 9, 1694, 684. This deed indicates that a William Blankensteine originally built the printing house then sold the land and structure to Joseph Sempile. The deed is the land sale between Joseph's wife, Mary, and William Taylard.

[57] *Arch. Md.*, 20:449.



Format D document

1693, at Potomac.[58] After the case ended, in January 1696, Dinah did not reappear until she requested a printing license.

Her petition for that license was read before the assembly on May 5, 1696, and nine days later, May 14, 1696, the council granted it, but Dinah did not immediately start printing.[59] At a May 19, 1696, council meeting the members determined that a number of London-based papers should be distributed to Maryland's counties. In order to facilitate distribution they issued the order, "that all the Clerks in Town be imployed to write the same out, there being no printing press here (at present) imployed."[60] With this information, the earliest dated document that can be firmly attributed to Dinah Nuthead is the July 4, 1696, format D, administration bond.

Although the two format K documents are dated after William's death, and both contain an upside-down "u" (a repeating characteristic of Dinah's work), two points must be considered before attributing these documents to Dinah Nuthead. The documents are dated close to William's death, which could indicate that these are the only surviving examples of a press run during William's life. The date of death, coupled with the lack of a historical reference about Dinah printing before 1696, cast sufficient doubt on the probability that she printed the format K documents. Unless another document or reference turns up clearly attributing these papers to either spouse, the safest conclusion is to list them as "Nuthead imprints."

Between May 1696 and December 1700, when the court probated Manus Devoran's will and took an inventory of his estate, no other reference to Dinah Nuthead appears in the historical record. Based on the surviving documents and the events surrounding the William Bladen–Thomas Reading press, we can safely assume that the twenty printed documents of formats D, E, F, G, N, and O are Dinah's work. By the time of Devoran's inventory, the Bladen-Reading press is the sole government-sponsored press in Maryland, and there is no indication that Dinah had been printing for at least a year prior its operation.

[58] Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., editors, *Archives of Maryland* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1990–), 535: 118, 122, and 133 (hereinafter cited Arch.Md.Online).

[59] *Arch. Md*, 19:313, 20:449.

[60] *Arch. Md.*, 20:432.

The next reference to Dinah is dated March 26, 1707, when her third husband, Sebastian Oley, dictated his last will and testament. According to this document Susanah Nuthead received a cow and calf and Sebastian's "dear and loving wife Dinah" received the remainder of the estate not mentioned elsewhere in the will.[61] On March 31, 1708, Sebastian's inventory listed Dinah as the "administratrix" of his account.[62]

Within a year of Sebastian's inventory, on February 7, 1709, Dinah and William Taylard signed an agreement that named Taylard as guardian of William and Susanah Nuthead.[63] That same year, Dinah's fourth husband, Samual Asa, died. The last reference to Dinah Nuthead, now Dinah Asa, occurred on March 14, 1710 when the Anne Arundel Circuit Court appointed Robert Jubb guardian of Catherine Devoran and Sebastian and Margaret Oley, orphans of Dinah Asa.[64] Since the children are listed as orphans, Dinah had apparently died by this date.

William and Dinah Nuthead's lives suggest some interesting conclusions and assumptions. William was definitely the fourth printer in English America and the first printer south of Massachusetts. Dinah was the first licensed woman printer in the English colonies. Additionally, the number of surviving Nuthead imprints indicates the existence of a printing establishment that lasted for more than a decade and secures the Nutheads' place in American printing history. The most important lesson learned from this investigation is that researchers of early American printing history should revisit historical repositories to reap the benefits of digitization and decades of archival work. Though excellent macro-level research is being conducted on the Atlantic book trade, English colonial communication, and ideas of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century press freedom, the nuts-and-bolts micro-level research details of who printed what and when appears to have stopped in the 1940s.[65] More such research might well lead to the revision of a number of ideas about colonial American printing.

[61] Prerogative Court wills, Box O, S540-17, MSA.

[62] Prerogative Court, Inventories and Accounts, Volume 28. S536-36.

[63] Deeds, Anne Arundel County, Liber W.T. No. 2, 684

[64] Lois Green Carr, St. Mary's City Women Career Files, unpublished notes, MSA.

[65] William Joyce, David Hall, Richard Brown, and John Hench, eds., *Printing and Society in Early America* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1983); Hugh Amory and David Hall, *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 2000).


RESRECTION
Perseve rance
Death
nal Re demptio
Bussetin
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Imprisonment
Good Will
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Righte ousness
Shame
Sanctifi cation
Poverty
Security
Peace
Refuge
Elect
Temptation
Victory
Pardon
Faith
Ever lasting Day
Circumcision
Baptism
Almighty
Wise
Just
Holy
Gracious
Glorious
Knock and it shall be opened
Behold the Lamb
What shall I do to be saved
Save Lord or I perish
The Broad
Way

Evangelicals and the Invention of Community in Western Maryland

JAMES D. RICE

In 1746 a German Reformed missionary named Michael Schlatter toured the newly colonized backcountry of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. He was not impressed. Thanks to the machinations of "all kinds of sects and erring spirits," he lamented, "these widely scattered regions lie deplorably desolated." Even those confessing a "pure reformed doctrine" often strayed from the path of righteousness. It seemed as if "the crafty Herrnhuters [Moravians] would carry away by their seductive doctrines, many of our members as well as of other denominations." The next few years did not bear out Schlatter's fears; to his considerable relief, robust German Reformed congregations soon emerged out of this welter of sects and denominations. The missionary found developments in newly established Frederick Town, Maryland, particularly heartening. In 1748 he visited Frederick's nearly completed German Reformed church building, where the "spiritually hungry souls" of the congregation wept as he began the first service with a prayer. Overcome with emotion, Schlatter and the congregation fell to their knees as the Reverend "wrestled for a blessing from the Lord upon them." The service continued in this emotional vein, though "always with the greatest propriety of deportment." [1] Germans at prayer with Germans, in German; Reformed in communion with Reformed. What more could Schlatter desire? At that moment it appeared that Reformed Germans, pious and reformed in doctrine, had established themselves as a people distinct from the sectarians—Lutherans, and English speakers—who surrounded them. With their prayers, Schlatter and the new congregation celebrated the erection of a small barrier within the backcountry's fragmented society.

This brief episode encapsulates one of the salient features of community life in

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[1] Michael Schlatter, *A True History of the Real Condition of the Destitute Congregations in Pennsylvania* (1752), in Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter* (Philadelphia, 1857), 144–45, 176–77.

Opposite: The Tree of Life . . . for the healing of the Nations. Rev. Ch. XXII. ver. 2. *Engraving printed for John Hagerty, 1791. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

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the colonial backcountry, in which an initial phase of fragmentation along linguistic, religious, and, more generally, cultural lines gradually gave way to social integration created by the expansion of commercial agriculture, increasing German participation in the civic community, and the creation of a pan-evangelical community of faith. This essay focuses on the last of these three integrative forces, evangelical Christianity, in the region identified by historian Carl Bridenbaugh as "Greater Pennsylvania"—western Maryland and adjoining portions of Virginia and Pennsylvania.[2]

One can hardly begin to generalize about the vast, diverse, and richly textured historical literature on religion in late colonial and early national America without oversimplifying it. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that recent accounts consistently emphasize the ways in which evangelicalism tended to fragment society into groups or promoted atomized individualism. For many historians the question is not *whether* evangelicals contributed to the fragmentation of American society, but *how*. To cite but two otherwise very different books, Paul Johnson and Sean Wilentz's *The Kingdom of Matthias* emphasizes the ways in which class formation and evangelical sensibilities went hand-in-hand, while in *The Democratization of American Christianity* Nathan Hatch places the fragmentary effects of evangelicalism on a more personal level, tying it to long-term trends towards individualism, egalitarianism, and democracy.[3] Similarly, a recent spate of books on evangelicals in the middle Atlantic and the South has tended to emphasize the social divisiveness of the movement. While recognizing the aspirations of early Methodists to fully include women and African Americans in their collective worship, writers such as

[2] Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951). On the other two themes, see James Rice, "Old Appalachia's Path to Interdependency: Economic Development and the Creation of Community in Frederick County, Maryland, 1730–1837," *Appalachian Journal*, 22 (1995): 348–74, and Rice, "Crime and Punishment in Frederick County and Maryland, 1748–1837: A Study in Culture, Society, and Law" (Ph.D diss., University of Maryland, 1994), chaps. 1, 10.

[3] It is not my intent to argue that the historians named here consciously frame the issue as I define it here, or that the tremendously varied and stimulating literature on evangelicals can be reduced to a debate over this single point. Yet there is a collective tendency in most studies of religion in the early republic, and in a great many synthetic works as well, to stress the fragmentary effects of evangelism. A partial listing of the most significant such works includes these otherwise highly diverse studies: Paul E. Johnson and Sean Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Patricia Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992); Charles G. Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). A few recent works can be read as endorsing the position I advance here, most notably Russell Richey, *Early American Methodism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Stuart Blumin, "Church and Community: A Case Study of Lay Leadership in Nineteenth-Century America," *New York History*, 56 (1975): 393–408; Gregory Nobles, "Breaking into the Backcountry: New Approaches to the Early American Frontier," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 46 (1989): 652–54; and Donald Mathews,

Christine Leigh Heyrman, Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, Dee Andrews, and Philip Mulder are particularly concerned with tracing the ways in which the movement soon came to perpetuate existing divisions along the lines of race, gender, and social status.[4]

The authors of these recent studies tend to think big, encompassing a half-dozen states or more in their studies. Surely that is a good thing, for the evangelical movement was by no means a provincial phenomenon, and much is to be gained by appreciating its range and scope across broad swaths of territory. Yet something is lost as well, for it is nearly impossible, when working on such a broad canvas, to properly situate evangelicals in their local context, such as the culturally, linguistically, and religiously fragmented Maryland backcountry.

Indeed, a close examination of developments in Greater Pennsylvania suggests that evangelical religion served a very different function there than it did elsewhere in the middle Atlantic and South. Society in this densely populated and important region was becoming highly fragmented in the years before the American Revolution, and gradually less fragmented after the war, precisely the opposite of the trend emphasized in most recent studies. In part this convergence occurred in western Maryland because new ways of doing and thinking about Christianity helped to create a stronger and denser web of community relations among people who were formerly separated by religious, linguistic, and cultural boundaries. Paradoxically, a specific type of religion broke down barriers within a society fragmented by, among

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"The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780–1830: An Hypothesis," *American Quarterly,* 21 (1969): 23–43. This argument also finds echoes in Robert Hewitt's lovely *Where the River Flows: Finding Faith in Rockingham County, Virginia, 1726–1876* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2003). Although it is neither a dominant nor a consistent theme in this book, Hewitt asserts that "many denominations . . . witnessed how the revival of the early 1800s had brought about a special unity among believers in Christ, regardless of their denominational background" (132). Ultimately, though, Hewitt too emphasizes denominational and sectarian distinctions rather than a common evangelical orientation, ethic, or style.

[4] Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770–1810* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), focuses on the more radically equalitarian American Methodism of the eighteenth century, but her epilogue traces the rise of distinctively southern patriarchal power relations within the nineteenth-century church. Philip Mulder's *A Controversial Spirit: Evangelical Awakenings in the South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) reverses this emphasis, briefly characterizing the eighteenth century as the period in which evangelicalism was a true movement, then elaborating more fully on that movement's degeneration in the nineteenth century into a competition between denominations. Heyrman minimizes the influence of eighteenth-century evangelicals in *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), and argues that the movement took off only when evangelical churches fully accommodated southern white men's need for mastery over women, youths, and African Americans. Dee Andrews's wonderfully detailed *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760–1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) emphasizes the Methodists' organizational zeal, which fostered the steady accumulation of community ties long after each individual's conversion experience. In her account, Methodism was the product of "disassociation from organic community" (239). In the backcountry, though, there was no "organic community" from which evangelicals could disassociate themselves.

other things, religion. Beginning as early as the 1770s, converts to the evangelical persuasion established new networks of associations that restructured their personal and communal identities. Acculturation took place along the lines of these new networks, and the mutual religious accommodation between German and British settlers made possible the creation of an encompassing community identity. By the 1830s a variety of German and English-speaking evangelical groups had come to share a preoccupation with conversion, a communal ethic, and "good conversation" or godly living. Evangelicals paved the way for community formation by creating new ecumenical networks and eroding barriers between the region's many ethnic groups, sects, and denominations.

Cultural Fragmentation

At first, Johann David Schoepf rather liked the backcountry. As this German physician toured the new United States in 1786, he took a particular interest in the great swath of territory settled by fellow German-speakers: Pennsylvania, the Maryland backcountry, and adjoining parts of Virginia. Like many visitors he commented favorably on the landscape. The thickly settled terrain between the Cumberland Valley and the Monocacy River, he noted, "is composed of several moderately high ranges, the valleys fertile and already a good deal tilled; the road passes by many farms and through pleasant landscapes." The backcountry towns reminded him of home, for "the houses according to the taste of the inmates, are painted divers colors, and the interior arrangement is very little different from the German. . . . one finds in the German houses everywhere a warm stove, good beer, and at this season, wurst, hog-meat, and sauerkraut." Schoepf particularly liked the substantial stone and brick houses of Hagerstown and Frederick Town, which he called "a spruce little place where it has not been expected."[5]

Yet Dr. Schoepf was not uncritical. On his first visit to Frederick Town he condescendingly noted that "this place cannot yet boast of any especially important trade" and remarked with distaste that "the people are of all manner of religions." On his second visit his condescension turned to rancor. Bad weather forced him to stay in Frederick Town for several long days. "No more than the first time I was there," he complained, "had I the pleasure of the society of gentlemen. The clergy, and a few others whose acquaintance I sought, were absent now as before, and the remaining German inhabitants are the most unmannerly people to be found far and wide."[6]

In his own patronizing way, Schoepf identified a serious cultural problem for backcountry residents as they lacked a strong sense of community. When Schoepf visited the region, settlers had just barely begun the process of building the ties of affection and mutuality that hold a genuine community together. Although he was

[5] Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, Alfred Morrison trans. (Philadelphia, 1911), 1:313–14, 2:23–24.

[6] Ibid.

wrong about the lack of an "important trade," the prevailing farming practices still kept many people isolated on scattered farms.[7] With his offhand comment about the region's religious diversity, he identified the problem of religious contentiousness. When he griped about "unmannerly" German inhabitants he echoed the judgment of many backcountry settlers, who insulted and assaulted one another with astonishing frequency during the colonial period. Finally, it is worth noting that Schoepf had very little contact with English-speakers during his visit. At every stage he connected with other German-speakers, who for their part introduced him to their compatriots. "German tavern-keepers along the road," he noted, "have been directing us on to other German taverns." Like every other early diarist in western Maryland, he moved in a language-segregated world.[8]

Linguistic differences split the backcountry into two main groups, German-speakers and English-speakers,[9] yet the terms "German" and "British" conceal the considerable diversity found within the two broad groups. Speaking a common language was not sufficient to inculcate a sense of community among neighbors, for the "British" and "Germans" included an array of peoples speaking different dialects, coming from vastly different regions, and professing very different faiths.

[7] Elizabeth Kessel, "Germans on the Maryland Frontier: A Social History of Frederick County, Maryland, 1730–1800" (Ph.D diss., Rice University, 1981); Rice, "Old Appalachia's Path."

[8] Schoepf, *Travels*, 2:24; Schlatter, *A True History*. Contemporary sources include Charlotte Brown, "Journal of a Voyage from London to Virginia," August–September 1755, and "The Autobiography of Christian Boerstler," 1801, both in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Secondary sources treating cultural pluralism in greater Pennsylvania include Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities*, chap. 3; Stephanie Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683–1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Michael Zuckerman, ed., *Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); Douglas Greenberg, "The Middle Colonies in Recent American Historiography," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 46 (1979): 396–427; Sally Schwartz, *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 1987), chap. 1; Wayne Bodle, "Themes and Directions in Middle Colonies Historiography, 1980–1994," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 51 (1994): 355–88; Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), chap. 6; Lester Cappon, et al., eds., *Atlas of Early American History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 24. For Maryland, see Kessel, "Germans on the Maryland Frontier," and Rice, "Crime and Punishment in Frederick County."

[9] A. G. Roeber, "'The Origin of Whatever Is Not English Among Us': The Dutch-speaking and the German-speaking Peoples of Colonial British America," in Bernard Bailyn and Philip Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Don Yoder, "The 'Dutchman' and the 'Deitschlenner': The New World Confronts the Old," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 23 (1988): 1–17; "Introduction," Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), xi–xii; Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of An Identity Crisis," in ibid., 42–43; Timothy Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *American Historical Review*,, 83 (1978): 1158–81; Elizabeth Kessel, "'A Mighty Fortress is Our God': German Religious and Educational Organizations on the Maryland Frontier, 1734–1800," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 77 (1982): 376–79; Jörg Echternkamp, "Emerging Ethnicity:

German-speakers identified themselves not only as Germans but also as Swiss, Palatines, Saxons, Westphalians, or as products of some other region. They often spoke different dialects. Germans also migrated through successive stages to the southern backcountry (typically taking a decade to move from Philadelphia to Maryland or the Shenandoah Valley), landing there alongside other German-speakers whose experiences had differed at every stage of the journey. Similarly, "British" people came from varied communities both in the old countries and in America. The Irish, for example, did not mix well with the English and Scots, or even the Germans: Doctor Schoepf noted that "Here and there are Irish families, upon whom the Germans, as better and more orderly economists, look down with a peculiar pride and arrogance."[10]

Old-world religions set up additional barriers to community formation, a phenomenon discernable in a 1766 encounter on Conococheague Creek. The Conococheague German Reformed congregation eagerly anticipated the arrival of a new pastor from Germany, but when he failed to appear the congregation turned to a local Moravian community for leadership. "Various quarrels" ensued, and a Reformed minister dispatched from Philadelphia to investigate the matter "was treated in a very unfriendly manner." Only when a new Reformed pastor accepted a call to the Conococheague congregation did the flirtation between local Moravians and German Reformed subside. Like Reformed authorities, Lutheran colonials suspected Moravians of trying to seize control of their congregations. They also feared that confrontations would erupt between Lutherans and Moravians who attempted to coexist within a single congregation, for even the most genuinely ecumenical initiatives by Moravians tended to actually sharpen divisions between church people and sectarians. Moravians could become just as exclusive. In 1758 they organized a congregation that dominated the town of Graceham for the first six decades of its existence. Graceham residents had to worship as Moravians, and the church itself established the town's ordinances until 1815.[11] Like their German counterparts, English-speaking Catholic, Anglican, Quaker, and Presbyterian churches formed separate subcommunities that often defined themselves in opposition to the others.

Western Maryland was hardly oversupplied with saints. Many, perhaps even most, colonials remained unchurched, but the unchurched did not form a coherent, peaceable community either. One could always find a fight. In 1810 John Baer became a servant to a tavern-keeper on the main road between Baltimore and Frederick Town. "All the old bloats of the neighborhood would gather there on

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The German Experience in Antebellum Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 86 (1991): 1; Kessel, "Germans on the Maryland Frontier," 113–19.

[10] Schoepf, *Travels,* 2:23–24; Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1575–76* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1976). African-Americans made up about 10 percent of the backcountry population; I have excluded them from this essay because they were largely excluded from the new webs of community being spun between 1740 and 1840.

[11] Minutes of the German Reformed Coetus, 1766 and 1770, quoted in Frank Swartz and Rachael Swartz, *Old Zion* (Chambersburg: n.p., 1970); Minutes of the Lutheran Ministerium.

Saturday and Public days," he recalled, "to run horses, fight chickens, drink bad whiskey, and black each others eyes. Many were the knock downs and bloody noses I saw in the three or four years I lived there." Baer got in a few licks of his own. Indeed, he had to abruptly quit his employment after quarreling with his master's son over an apple. In his fury, Baer "seized a flail . . . and swinging it around at him struck him on the head just above the ear, and laid him out, as I thought dead; at any rate he stopped eating my apple. I felt of his face and found him laying quite still; supposing him dead I thought now is the time for me to leave." For the next few years Baer went on the lam, working at odd jobs and constantly getting into scrapes—even exchanging gunfire on one occasion.[12]

By the 1810s, Baer's rough-and-tumble world was gradually going out of fashion. He would have fit in better had he arrived in the backcountry before the American Revolution, when a startlingly large proportion of males showed a marked propensity for violence. Even the most conservative reading of the crime statistics demonstrates that at least ten percent of colonial backcountry men committed assault, battery, breach of the peace, or related offenses during young adulthood.[13] Among the population as a whole (including children), the annual minimum crime rate peaked in the 1770s at 3.4 per thousand residents for breaches of the peace, and 5.8 per thousand for all offenses. (See Table 1.) This peak coincided with a flood of immigration and thus with the height of cultural fragmentation. Hordes of new German and British settlers poured into the region between 1745 and 1775. Meanwhile established churches continued their gathering into denomination-specific communities, while other people remained altogether unchurched. These new neighbors lacked any history of peaceful accommodation with each other, a problem exacerbated by cultural differences. Court dockets swelled as innumerable petty conflicts escalated into lawsuits and criminal prosecutions.

[12] *The Life and Travels of John W. Bear, "The Buckeye Blacksmith"* (Baltimore, 1873), 7–10. For other vivid accounts of rough-and-tumble backcountrymen, see William Otter, Sen., *History of My Own Times or, the Life and Adventures of William Otter, Sen. Comprising a Series of Events, and Musical Incidents Altogether Original,* Richard B. Stott, ed. (1835; repr. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), and Ferdinand M.-Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia with a description of Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1791,* Ben McCary, trans. (Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., 1950), 33, 42.

[13] These statistics were derived from the "Frederick County Court database," a ParadoxSE file summarizing all records of criminal prosecutions in Frederick County, Maryland between 1748 and 1837 (those records, housed at the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, are nearly complete, and include over seven thousand cases). I treat the prosecution rate as a "minimum crime rate," for while some of those prosecuted were innocent, surely an even larger number of criminal acts were never prosecuted. Furthermore, changes in the minimum crime rate can serve as a guide to the direction the crime rate was headed. John Beattie and Douglas Hay agree that there was a correlation between crime rates and prosecution rates. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660–1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 202–37; Douglas Hay, "War, Dearth, and Theft in the Eighteenth Century: The Record of the English Courts," *Past & Present,* 95 (1982): 117–60. For an overview of the problems and opportunities in using crime statistics, see Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750–1900* (New York: Longman, 1987), chap. 1.

Table 1: Minimum Crime Rates in the Maryland Backcountry (Per 1,000)

Decade	Violence/Disorderly	Theft	Total
1750–1759	1.9 (23.7)	0.6 (7.9)	4.1 (51.1)
1760–1769	0.9 (12.3)	0.7 (10.0)	3.1 (41.4)
1770–1779	4.5 (81.0)	0.5 (12.6)	5.8 (135.6)
1780–1789	3.4 (84.7)	0.5 (13.2)	5.2 (128.3)
1790–1799	2.4 (75.9)	0.4 (11.5)	3.8 (119.1)
1800–1809	2.1 (70.5)	0.1 (4.4)	3.5 (117.1)
1810–1819	2.7 (102.3)	0.2 (8.9)	4.2 (156.6)
1820–1829	1.7 (73.8)	0.4 (15.4)	3.1 (132.4)
1830–1839	1.4 (64.3)	0.4 (20.0)	2.5 (118.5)

Sources: FCC Database; Arthur Karinen, "Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland Population, 1631–1840" (Ph.D diss., University of Maryland, 1958).
Note: "Violence/disorder" includes assault, battery, affray, riot, breach of the peace, and a very few homicides. Figures in parentheses are average annual Ns.

Declining crime rates provide dramatic evidence of the backcountry's long transition from cultural fragmentation to social integration: every time a new development accelerated the process of social integration, the crime rate dropped. The decline began in the 1780s, when evangelicals began in earnest their campaign to convert the backcountry. This decline also followed the revolution, which interrupted German immigration and lines of communication with the old world and thus required German-speakers to look closer to home for social contacts. The crime rate declined further in the 1790s, when construction began on the turnpikes that ultimately knit together the backcountry. In brief, community-building broke down the barriers between settlers, lessening the incidence of serious interpersonal conflict and facilitating informal resolutions of disputes that might earlier have led to criminal prosecutions.[14]

An Evangelical Style and Ethic

Methodists led the evangelical charge, which eventually helped to forge a broader, less fragmented and violent community. During the 1770s itinerant preachers such as Francis Asbury and Freeborn Garrettson roamed the backcountry preaching to anyone who would listen—even if it meant knocking on strangers' doors. In addition to such preachers at large, more than forty different men were assigned to preach on the Frederick Circuit (roughly coterminous with "Greater Pennsylvania") between 1774 and 1784. By 1781 the circuit boasted 606 members, 6 percent of the new nation's Methodists. The Frederick circuit's memberships remained fairly steady for the next two decades, even though its territory gradually shrank down to include only a portion of western Maryland, as new circuits hived off to accommodate increased memberships elsewhere in Greater Pennsylvania. The great revivals of the early nineteenth century brought another surge of new members into Meth-

[14] Ibid.

odist churches, raising the total in the sharply truncated Frederick Circuit to 1,417 in 1813.[15]

Methodists shared the work of evangelism with other groups, particularly the German-speaking United Brethren. Both groups held frequent meetings beginning in the late eighteenth century. Local historians and diarists noted backcountry revivals, open-air meetings, and camp meetings as early as 1767 and several times each year after 1796. This figure is based upon an extremely partial list of meetings, and it only begins to suggest the pervasiveness of evangelical activity. Although as many as five thousand people attended these open air meetings, including ordinary Methodist Quarterly Meetings, even an exhaustive statistical accounting of church memberships, camp meetings, and revivals would convey but an inkling of evangelicalism's impact. The bulk of evangelical activity involved not mass meetings but prayer meetings, evangelizing within established congregations, preaching tours, and regular itinerant circuits. As historian Dee Andrews points out, many converts "first came into contact" with an evangelical preacher "when he arrived at the front or back door," and "they experienced the depths and heights of their religious crises within their own households . . . rather than, as is commonly assumed, in the throes of the revival meeting."[16] Besides, the real change was in religious sensibilities, which are not so easily quantified. Evangelical activity was highly ecumenical, freely drawing in participants across denominational and ethnic boundaries.[17]

The diary of Jacob Engelbrecht, the son of a Hessian prisoner of war and a tailor in Frederick Town, suggests the ways in which evangelicals, particularly on their endless circuits and hectic preaching tours, could break down sectarian boundaries. Engelbrecht was a good Lutheran. An officer of the local Lutheran church, he also served as its chorister and a Sunday school teacher, and he named his first son after Philip Melanchton, Martin Luther's most prominent associate. Yet enthusiastic preachers fascinated this sturdy Lutheran. Engelbrecht was particularly enamored of "Crazy" Lorenzo Dow, one of the most democratic, enthusiastic, and un-

[15] Edwin Schell, "Where Bishop Asbury Spent His Time, 1784–1816, as Shown by his Journal," pamphlet collection, MdHS; Robert Simpson, ed., *American Methodist Pioneer: The Life and Journals of the Reverend Freeborn Garrettson, 1752–1827* (hereinafter cited as *LJFG*) (Rutland, Vt.: Academy Books, 1984), 57, 110, 148, 176, 183–86, 232, 235, 382, 390, 411; Elmer Clark, ed., *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, Vol. 3 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), 17, 50, 90, 202–3, 304, 358, 466, 571–72, 594, 696–97, 706–7, 740–41 (hereinafter cited as *JLFA*). Unless otherwise noted, membership figures and numbers of itinerants are derived from *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences Annually Held in America; from 1773 to 1813, inclusive* (New York, 1813). Methodist membership totals excluded minors, a practice that (along with strict examination of prospective members) kept membership totals well below actual adherence rates.

[16] Andrews, *Methodists and Revolutionary America*, 7.

[17] This figure is merely indicative of the volume of public revivals. It is derived from very limited sources, including only one of the many available ministers' journals, and only scratching the surface of that one: *The Life and Journal of Christian Newcomer, Late Bishop of the United Brethren in Christ*, trans. John Hildt (Hagerstown, 1834, cited hereinafter as *LJCN*). See also Thomas Williams,

conventional preachers of his age. Preaching at hundreds of gatherings each year, Dow freely mixed his dreams and visions with Biblicism and Jeffersonian republicanism. His wild eyes, long hair, and unkempt clothing contributed mightily to his highly Arminian and democratic message.

The tailor scrambled to catch a glimpse of Dow whenever he appeared near Frederick Town. A sampling from Engelbrecht's diary entries gives a good idea of Dow's allure:

> 2/24/1823: Lorenzo Dow the Cosmopolite (Itenerent Preacher) preached 6 times in this place, of which I heard him 5 times—at every time he had crowded Audiances—he left this town, this morning on his "journey of life" to "teach all nations." He is certainly a well-informed man, and has scripture at his fingers end. In all probability I never shall see Lorenzo again. I therefore say "Adieu Lorenzo, success attend you."
>
> 6/16/1826: I do not believe in Dreams— but positively I dreamt of Lorenzo last night— not that I saw him but saw a letter which I knew to be his handwriting. This I dreamt last night and only heard of his being in town this morning.[18]

Engelbrecht and his neighbors did not confine their evangelical activities to Dow's periodic visits. Week after week they crowded into churches that were not their own to hear such luminaries as the Presbyterian Charles Grandison Finney, the Methodist "Preacheress" Ellis Miller, the rogue Quaker Elias Hicks, and a host of others. Once good church members had tasted the giddy fruit of enthusiastic preaching, they demanded and often got the same from their own ministers. For example, in Martinsburg, Virginia (at the lower end of the Shenandoah Valley), an extended revival in 1823–1825 began among the Methodists but eventually yielded a number of conversions and rebirths for other denominations. "Every meeting for religious purposes, was largely attended, and it was soon found that private houses would not accommodate the crowds that came together," wrote an approving Lutheran observer. The fever spread so far beyond the original Methodist core that "to estimate the number received into the different churches here . . . is not in the

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History of Frederick County (Baltimore, 1910), 452–59, 481–83; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, Vol. 1. On revivals in nearby parts of Maryland and Virginia, see Wesley Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740–1800* (1930; repr. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), 170, and additional indexed entries in the journals of Newcomer, Asbury, and Garrettson. Russell Richey minimizes the distinction between camp meetings and quarterly meetings: "the differences consisted only in tents." Richey, *Early American Methodism*, 31. See also Andrews, *Methodists and Revolutionary America*, Appendix D.

[18] *The Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht, 1818–1878*, 3 vols. (Frederick, Md.: Historical Society of Frederick County, 1976).

power of the writer," for "all partook more or less of it."[19] Evangelical religion came to transcend sectarian boundaries not just on special occasions, but on ordinary Sundays as well. Even highly liturgical Lutherans borrowed from the increasingly common evangelical style and ethic, a development which blurred the lines between the separate, religiously based communities of the eighteenth century.[20]

German-speakers imbibed the essence of evangelicalism despite the language barrier. Across the linguistic divide stepped the United Brethren in Christ and other "Methodistic" groups, whose clergy maintained close ties with the Wesleyans but preached mainly in German.[21] A close examination of the journal of Christian Newcomer, a bishop of the United Brethren, brings us to an appreciation of the multiple ways in which German-speaking preachers spoke, at a fundamental level, the same language as their English-speaking Methodist counterparts. Born in 1749 to Swiss Mennonite parents in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Newcomer was *re*born during a severe illness in the winter of 1770–1771. From that point onward, he burned to preach. Newcomer eventually made the acquaintance of the German Reformed preacher William Otterbein and joined his group of "Dutch Methodists," gradually turning his farm over to his children as his preaching became increasingly indispensable to the movement.[22]

Newcomer settled for good near Antietam Creek, seven miles south of

[19] "Account of a Religious Work," *The Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer* (Frederick, 1827), 18–19.

[20] *Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht* (on Frederick Town's Lutheran church); Henry Boehm, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1866), 35; Thomas J. C. Williams, *History of Washington County, Maryland* . . . (1906; repr. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1968) 394, 474; Williams, *History of Frederick County*, 452–59, 481–83; Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, Vol. 1; Don Yoder, "The Bench vs. the Catechism: Revivalism and Pennsylvania's Lutheran and Reformed Churches," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 10 (1959): 14–23; Richard Wolf, "The Americanization of the German Lutherans, 1683 to 1829" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1947); Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 153–54, 199–201; Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodists* (Baltimore, 1810), 271–73; Richard Carwadine, "The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An Examination of Methodism and the 'New Measures,'" *Journal of American History*, 59 (1972): 327–40; Terry Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 94–98.

[21] *JLFA*, 1:104, 111–14, 197; Yoder, "Pennsylvania Germans," 47–50; Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research," in Glenn G. Gilbert, ed., *The German Language in America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 89–90, 95; John Frantz, "Revivalism in the German Reformed Church in America, with Emphasis on the Eastern Synod" (Ph.D diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1961); A. E. Drury, *History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton, Ohio, 1931); Andrews, *Methodists and Revolutionary America*, 33–34, 44–45, 56, 69, 276 (n. 102); Hewitt, *Where the River Flows*, parts two and three.

[22] *LJCN*, 1–18. I emphasize Newcomer because of his early involvement in the movement and because of his residence in Greater Pennsylvania. Many another United Brethren preacher roamed the region. George Geeting, Newcomer's neighbor on Antietam Creek, also rode for decades, as did Jacob Bowlus. William Otterbein and Martin Boehm (the co-architects of the movement) made frequent forays into the backcountry. So did Martin Krider, Abraham Troxel, John Hershey, Christian Krum, Henry Krum, George Pfrimmer, Jacob Geisinger, Dietrich Aurand, and Adam Lehmen. Williams, *History of Frederick County*, 452–53.

Hagerstown, Maryland, but he spent little time at home. Several times a year he rode an extensive circuit in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Between circuits he journeyed to more distant territories, roaming from Allentown, Pennsylvania, to the upper Shenandoah Valley, and from Baltimore to Ohio. In this he resembled the most celebrated, travel-hardened Anglo-Methodists of his day, such as Francis Asbury, Jessie Lee, and Freeborn Garrettson. Newcomer's opportunistic approach to spreading the word also resembled that of a Methodist itinerant. He preached in any setting: in private homes, at local churches, in barns, under a tent, or under the stars. Even a casual trip to a store or an overnight stay at a tavern could turn into a meeting.[23]

Such opportunities arose only because Newcomer, like many another itinerant, risked everything for the cause. Newcomer left his birth family and old friends behind when he moved to Maryland to pursue his calling—a common yet invariably painful decision for evangelical preachers. When traveling, he left behind his wife and children. Other preachers simply never married. Newcomer also suffered from the elements. In 1807 he spent his thirty-fifth wedding anniversary on the road, beginning his twelve-mile ride in eighteen inches of new snow and continuing through a bad storm. The next day he traveled ten miles as the snow drifts rose to the top of the fence posts. "At times I had to alight and tramp the snow down with my feet, to form a passage for my horse," wrote Newcomer. And to what purpose? "At last I reached the place of my appointment, and found but one solitary individual who had come to meeting. I took some refreshment and set out again to my next appointment. I had nine miles to ride." Not surprisingly, itinerant preachers often sickened and died young.[24]

While death and debilitating illness loomed as strong possibilities for itinerant ministers, they could absolutely count upon frequent rejection. Preachers frequently lamented their failure to attract an audience or to forge a meaningful connection with their auditors. William Duke, a Methodist itinerant on the Frederick Circuit, confronted one "hardened congregation" by speaking "free and plain . . . as I knew that they had sat a long time under the sound of the Gospel and it seemed of none effect." Several days later Duke lacked even an adequate audience. He arrived at an appointed meeting near Frederick Town "but none came but the Society [Methodist members]." A week later he again enjoyed the possibility of useful preaching but once more failed to connect with his audience. Arriving in the Middletown Valley after a "troublesome ride" over Catoctin Mountain he found an audience, "but it seemed as if it profited neither myself nor any body else. Back to Frederick [Town] to preach."[25]

So why bother? Why leave the comfort of home and family, risking illness, embracing discomfort, and courting rejection? The answer is simple: evangelicals

[23] *LJCN*, August 9, 1799.
[24] *LJCN*, March 31 and April 1, 1807. Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 87–88.
[25] Journal of William Duke (typescript at MdHS), June 26, July 11 and 18, 1774.

played for extremely high stakes. They wanted to bring the Bible to all sinners, using its words to save their souls and to serve as a guide to living a holy life. The new nation, some argued, needed good Christians if the republican experiment was to work. More often evangelicals set their sights even higher, on preparations for the second coming of Christ. Even *The Christian Almanac for Maryland and Virginia*, otherwise a fairly standard almanac, took "as a principle object . . . to give impulse to the conversion of the world."[26]

Such lofty aims called for great sacrifices by preachers and ordinary Christians alike. All such sacrifices had to begin with a personal conversion: evangelicals believed that no one could go to heaven without undergoing a second birth, which required a fundamental shift in a person's self-perception, consciousness, and priorities. Personal conversions followed a common pattern, discernable in an early nineteenth-century "road map" to heaven, hell, and points in between.[27] This map promised a difficult journey for those wishing to travel to heaven. A person who frequented the villages of Morality, Common Honesty, Prudence, Discretion, and Generosity dwelt on the righteous side of the "Boundaries of Conscience" but remained far from the road to salvation. Travelers picked up the trail at the villages of Sobriety and Moderation. Once on the narrow path, they soon passed a crucial junction, Conviction, where they suddenly developed an acute awareness of their utter sinfulness. At this point sinners crossed the border into the State of Repentance, thus beginning a struggle to come to terms with this new self-image. Only prayer could get one through this stage, which many observers called "mourning." Mourning often took a long time. John Hagerty, for example, was "convicted" on March 27, 1770, and remained "distressed" until the next December. Meanwhile he prayed and sought counsel from others. "At times," he confessed, "I was afraid I had lost my conviction and at other times I felt the drawing of the Spirit of God."[28] Like many another mourner, Hagerty's struggle ceased only after he had abandoned his attempts to save himself, giving himself up to God's mercy and accepting Christ's death as a full pardon for his sins. This moment of conversion often arrived quite suddenly. For Hagerty the moment of truth arrived as "I was on my knees crying to God for a full deliverance." He heard a voice say "'I have sealed the pardon of thy sins with my blood,'" upon which "in a moment prayer turned into praises."[29]

After conversion, the road led through the Plains of Religion, a region studded

[26] Curtis Johnson, *Redeeming America: Evangelicals and the Road to Civil War* (Chicago: I. R. Dee, 1993); *The Christian Almanac for Maryland and Virginia* (Baltimore, 1829), 3.

[27] "The Journey of Life or an Accurate Map of the Roads, Counties, Towns &c. in the Ways to Happiness and Misery" (Philadelphia, c. 1850). Broadside, Prints and Photographs Division, MdHS. The following analysis owes much to Johnson, *Redeeming America*, chap. 2.

[28] John Hagerty to Edward Dromgoole, January 19, 1778, cited in William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, Vol. IV, The Methodists: A Collection of Source Materials* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), 125–28.

[29] Ibid.

with landmarks named "Regeneration," "Meekness," "Self-examination," "True Piety," and "Self Denial." Yet even now one might wander from the path. Heaven remained a long way up the road, which had yet to ford rivers and cross narrow passes. For example, the "River of Affliction and Probation" established a major barrier; it could as easily lead travelers to Temptation as to Self Knowledge or Confidence in God.

In practical terms, this clever allegorical road map reflected the five-stage process through which evangelical shapers sought to guide the unconverted. First they convinced people of their utterly sinful nature ("conviction"). Second, they guided the convicted towards God as they struggled with this new and painful awareness ("mourning"). Third, they pushed mourners to give themselves up to God's mercy ("conversion"). In the fourth stage evangelicals helped new converts as they grappled with their new lives. Finally, evangelicals sought to envelop new converts in the embrace of a community that would support them in their new and holy lives. This last stage required constant vigilance and effort. The converted guarded against backsliding by endlessly questioning and reaffirming their own faith, trying their best to stay on the narrow road to heaven. As one popular hymn concluded,

> 'Tis a point I long to know
> Oft it causes anxious thought
> Do I love the Lord or no?
> Am I his, or am I not?[30]

Conversion, then, was a critical step on the road to heaven (though hardly the end of the road). Consequently, preachers like Christian Newcomer appeared at as many revivals and Quarterly Meetings (combined camp meetings and administrative sessions) as possible. Often these events transported "mourning" participants to the depths of spiritual anguish and the converted to tremendous heights of spiritual ecstasy. Newcomer wanted his audiences to undergo an experience identical to that of other, non-German revivals. Compare the following accounts. In the first, a series of preachers worked the crowd until "tears flowed abundantly; among others, an aged man came forward with tears trickling down his cheeks, beseeching us to pray with him; before the close of the meeting, he experienced the pardoning love of God in the remission of sin, and went home rejoicing." At another camp meeting the author addressed a crowd of more than four thousand, upon which "The Lord helped me; the word fell with power on the congregation; truly it was an awful time! The word was like a sword in the hearts of some who cried out aloud to God; tears flowed on every hand; the countenances of the people bespoke the effect of the truth in their souls." At a Saturday night meeting near Hagerstown, the

[30] *David's Harp: Containing a Selection of Tunes . . . in the Methodist Pocket Hymn Book* (Baltimore, 1813), no. 108.

"whole audience were bathed in tears; sobs and groans of frustration were heard throughout the room."[31]

The first account, describing a 1797 meeting, was rendered by the German-speaking Newcomer. The second, dated 1791, comes from the pen of the English-speaking Methodist Ezekiel Cooper, and the third describes a German Lutheran meeting held by Hagerstown's "boy preacher," George Schmucker. It is difficult to distinguish the German from the English meeting and the Lutherans from the Methodists, because the conversion experience transcended linguistic and denominational boundaries. English- and German-speaking preachers alike yearned to be the instrument through which God inspired the people who "praised the Lord with a loud voice," who "shouted for joy," who "fell to the ground, and when they recovered were praising God for joy," and who celebrated such "bonds of love" after the meeting that they felt "loath to part from each other." Happy was the preacher whose "heart was closely united to the people."[32]

Community is defined as much by events as by places, for social meaning is not latent, but emerges out of concrete actions.[33] An unmistakable community-building element emerges from descriptions of prayer meetings, sermons, and revival meetings. Listen, for example, to two accounts of meetings attended by Newcomer:

> Samuel Bachtel, a Dunker preacher conducted the meeting; he was so narrow hearted that he gave not privilege to speak, or even to commune with them at the Lord's table, without being a regular member of their own society.

In contrast to the intensely sectarian Dunkards, the United Brethren invited all comers to communion, thereby admitting them to the community.

> At the end of the meeting it became difficult to part; all saying brother, sister, pray for me.[34]

This communal ethic often made it difficult to part. It marked the United Brethren from the very beginning of that movement. Martin Boehm and William Otterbein, soon to emerge as leaders of the German Methodists, first met at an

[31] *LJCN*, September 30, 1797; George A. Phoebus, comp., *Beams of Light on Early Methodism. Chiefly drawn from the Diary, Letters, Manuscripts, Documents and Original Tracts of the Reverend Ezekiel Cooper* (New York, 1887), 135–36; Kurtz, "Memorial to George Schmucker," in Williams, *History of Washington County*, 396.

[32] *LJCN*, April 16, May 10 and 12, 1806; *LJFG*, 58.

[33] Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*; Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), xi.; and Jean Paul Sartre, *Existentialism*, trans. Bernard Frechtman (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947); Gabriel Marcel, *The Philosophy of Existentialism*, trans. Manya Harari (New York: Citadel Press, 1956); William Earle, James Edie, and John Wild, *Christianity and Existentialism* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1963).

[34] *LJCN*, September 20, 1798, and October 11, 1799; *LJFG*, 58–60.

interdenominational meeting near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Boehm preached, his son recalled, "with particular unction." Otterbein, inspired by the power of Boehm's sermon, arose, "encircled him with his arms, and exclaimed, 'We are brethren.'"[35]

Later evangelicals actually articulated the sense of community that their predecessors bespoke by their actions. Benjamin Kurtz, Lutheran pastor at Hagerstown from 1815 to 1831, advocated "experimental" religion. Defending his evangelicalism against criticism from high church clergymen, he asserted that in "no other way can we so successfully promote peace in families, congregations, and neighborhoods . . . as love is the fruit of faith, so peace and harmony will reign triumphantly in every family, church, and vicinity."[36] In prayer meetings, for example, "the master and the servant, the young convert and the old disciple, the day-laborer and the man of property, often meet together; and while they hear of the things of God, not only forget their several distinctions, and feel their perfect oneness in their common Lord, but are also preserved from all unworthy jealosies in their intercourse with each other." Similarly, a Lutheran magazine asserted that "Social Prayer meetings ought to be established in every church, village, and neighborhood. Where such meetings are formed . . . the chords of union among different denominations of christians would be drawn closer."[37]

Methodists had a highly evocative term for the merging of souls that made it so difficult to part: they called it a "melting time." At such moments Methodists and other evangelicals "engaged one another—singing, praying, shouting, praising God, weeping," expressing a "profoundly social, collective, corporate" ethic.[38] In contrast, traditional denominations and sects often remained exclusionary. Martin Boehm, for example, found that his evangelical preaching "was a strange work; and some of the Mennonite meeting-houses were closed against me. . . . Some years afterward I was excommunicated from the Mennonite church, on a charge truly enough advanced, of holding fellowship with others societies of a different language."[39] Evangelicals distinguished themselves from traditionalists by welcoming all comers at most of their communal events. Newcomer, for example, wrote of one meeting that "at the administration of the Sacrament, you could perceive all dis-

[35] J. B. Wakeley, *The Patriarch of One Hundred Years, Being Reminiscences, Historical and Biographical, of Rev. Henry Boehm* (New York: Nelson & Phillips, 1875) 390, 18–19.

[36] Benjamin Kurtz, *Experimental (Not Ritual) Religion, the One Thing Needful* (Baltimore, 1863), 11. See also *The Lutheran Observer (Baltimore)*, August 15, 1831, 21.

[37] Benjamin Kurtz, *Why are You a Lutheran?* (Baltimore, 1843), 157; *The Lutheran Observer (Baltimore)*, August 15, 1831, 21.

[38] Richey, *Early American Methodism*, 1–16 (quotes are from pages 3, 16). See also Ronald Schultz, "God and Workingmen: Popular Religion and the Formation of Philadelphia's Working Class, 1790–1830," in Ronald Hoffman and Peter Albert, eds., *Religion in a Revolutionary Age* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 144; Ruth Bloch, "Religion, Literary Sentimentalism, and Popular Revolutionary Ideology," ibid., 308–30; Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivalism in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 101.

[39] Interview with Martin Boehm, reprinted in Wakeley, *The Patriarch of One Hundred Years*, 379.

tinctions of sects lost in christian love and fellowship. Lutherans, Presbyterians, Mennonites, Baptists, and Methodists all drew near the Lord's table, and united in communion of the dying love of the Redeemer."[40]

Preachers wishing to promote such communities of faith identified with one another as well as with their own denominations. The resulting ministerial ecumenism perpetuated the process, begun by their parishioners, of building new evangelical networks that cut across the old religious and linguistic boundaries that had initially fragmented backcountry society. Again, Christian Newcomer's experiences are revealing. In the last seven months of 1798 he preached at a Mennonite meeting house, a German Reformed church, a German Baptist church, and in the homes of an "Omish [Amish] Brother" and a Baptist. Newcomer also appeared with increasing frequency at camp meetings sponsored by other denominations such as the Methodists and the German Reformed. Why not? Sinners could be found anywhere. At any good meeting some might "fall to the ground as if they were shot." It mattered not who organized the event, so long as "the Lord made bare his arm and sinners were slain on the right and on the left."[41]

Perhaps the most interesting connection between the German-speaking United Brethren and the English-speaking Methodists was, oddly enough, a linguistic one. Like many other cultural movements, evangelical Christianity developed a peculiar language of its own, with intensely value-laden keywords that, even when translated into German or English, carried a common yet profound meaning. At a deeper level than the German-English distinction, preachers of the Methodist persuasion spoke what Russell Richey has called the "languages of American Methodism." The most important of these, a popular evangelical/pietist dialect, allowed all evangelicals—Methodistic or not—to bond together within a large discursive community.[42]

Methodists and United Brethren shared a trans-Atlantic "Wesleyan" language. Most of the key words in the Wesleyan dialect designated offices and events: classes, societies, circuits, quarterly meetings, and so on. But this should not obscure the passionate reality these words conjured up in the minds of Methodists and United Brethren, for whom such words were freighted with meaning far beyond the institutional structures they denoted. For example, diarists wrote of "quarterly meetings" with a palpable excitement—far more than they exhibited towards ordinary church services and certainly more than they showed for the business conducted at these events. Similarly, "itinerancy" meant more than riding from place to place. This word was an extraordinarily evocative metonym for an entire ethic of sacrifice

[40] *LJCN*, 48. Note, though, that Methodists excluded non-members from the Love Feast and from class meetings.

[41] *LJCN*, August 25, 1809.

[42] Richey, *Early American Methodism*, chap. 6. On "keywords" and "discursive communities," see Daniel Rodgers, *Contested Truths: Keywords in American Politics Since Independence* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 3–16, and Saul Cornell, "Early American History in a Postmodern Age," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 50 (1993): 329–41.

based on ideals of apostolic simplicity, poverty, and physical suffering.[43] Then there was the "Love Feast." On the morning of the second day of Methodist and United Brethren quarterly meetings, participants in the Love Feast gathered for a plain meal of bread and water. Along with this ascetic meal they partook of a more substantial feast of testimony: at the Love Feast, people came forward and shared the emotion-laden stories of their spiritual journeys. The previous day's preaching, the resemblance to the sacrament of communion, and the power and intimacy of these confessions often combined to work "a heart-reviving time." The term "Love Feast" even brought to mind visions of heaven, as one hymn suggests: "Antedate the joys above/Celebrate the feast of Love."[44]

When observers described Love Feasts, quarterly meetings, and revivals, they resorted to another language, the "popular evangelical or pietist" dialect. At this fundamental level, English and German Methodism merged together not just with one another but with evangelical culture in general, for much of this language grew from the common ground of evangelicalism: the conversion experience. Anyone of the evangelical persuasion could communicate in this tongue. Some of the key words were "melting," "love," "awakening," "Pentecost," "tears," "praise," "mercy," "mourning," "conviction," "liberty," "freedom," "conversion," and "the word."[45] Listen, then, to how witnesses to Love Feasts in Greater Pennsylvania reflexively resorted to these words:

> it was truly a feast full of love and liberty: praise the Lord . . . many came with tears to the Lord's table.
>
> In Love feast we had a melting time.
>
> the next day we had our meeting began with a love feast; and we had a powerful melting time.

Once again it is impossible to discern the Methodists from the United Brethren by their words alone.[46]

Turning from the peculiarly Methodistic Love Feast to the more generically evangelical revival or camp meeting, we can see the same heavy reliance on a few metonymic key words:

[43] *LJFG*, 63; Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 82–89; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 237.

[44] *LJCN*, April 30, 1809; *David's Harp*, hymn no. 114.

[45] Richey, *Early American Methodism*, chap. 6. Preachers' journals are riddled with these terms. See for example *LJCN*, 185, 191, 196–97, 202, 203, 208, 210, 215, 217, 233, 244, 259, 261, 268, 273, 284, 308, 314; Henry Boehm's journal in Wakeley, *Patriarch of One Hundred Years*, esp. 21–41; and Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodists* (Baltimore, 1810), 130–47.

[46] *LJCN*, June 2 and August 4, 1799; *JLFA*, August 4, 1777.

> I found the Lord present in his converting power . . . many were the wounded and the slain. All around the Camp-ground the cry, "Mercy, Lord Jesus, Mercy!" sounded from tent to tent.
>
> There were many friends from Virginia, and the congregation was very large. It was a powerful, melting time, and concluded in the spirit of love.
>
> The people of God were roused from their slumbers; arrows of conviction were *hurled into the hearts of sinners.*[47]

The term "Pentecost" also carried deep resonance for evangelicals. In Acts 2, the "Pentecost" was marked by the coming of the Spirit to a gathering of Jesus' followers. The sound of a rushing wind washed over the gathering, and the followers "were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues." In their ecstasy, they appeared drunk to onlookers. For Luke, this event presaged the coming of the gospel to all of the world's peoples. Thus "Pentecost" became a keyword for evangelicals because it invoked the possibility of complete unification in true Christianity. Listen, then:

> Mr. Boehm . . . cried out, 'I never saw God in this way before.' I replied, 'This is a Pentecost, father.'
>
> This was the last day of our meeting, and the best day of the feast; many were so filled with the love of Jesus, that like at the Pentecost, they appeared drunken.
>
> Today we had truly a day of grace, and of the out-pouring of the holy spirit, a Pentecost as in days of old.[48]

Evangelicals used these key words of evangelical Christianity in a variety of settings. The Lutheran compiler of an evangelical hymnal published in Frederick in 1822, for example, organized the text according to themes such as "conversion."[49] These hymns depended heavily on the language of sin, conviction, trial, and of course "mercy." A Methodist hymnal also used key words of the evangelical/pietist dialect—"mercy," "mourner," "melting," "guilty heart" (read "conviction")—as building blocks for its concluding hymn:

[47] *LJCN*, August 13, 1809; *JLFA*, 1:251–52; description of a German Reformed revival, *The Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer (Frederick Town)*, 4 (1829), 67.

[48] Benjamin Abbot's account of a bilingual revival, reprinted in Wakeley, *Patriarch of One Hundred Years*, 20–21; *LJCN*, May 29, 1797 and May 25, 1801.

[49] *The Pocket Selection of Hymns for the Use of Evangelical Churches*, 1st ed. (Frederick Town, 1822).

> In boundless mercy gracious Lord appear
> Darkness dispel, the humble mourner cheer,
> the humble mourner cheer . . .
> Melt down this guilty heart
> Cause every soul to choose the better part.[50]

As evangelicalism spread beyond its eighteenth-century Methodist core, both the metonymic keywords and the distinctive style of evangelicalism bound worshipers together into a discursive community that obscured old language and denominational boundaries. In the words of an old itinerant, "orthodoxy was in a considerable degree methodized, and Methodism in due time became orthodoxed."[51]

Formalists, Scoffers, and the Sacraments

For all their success in harvesting souls, the evangelicals never fully achieved their goal of creating a uniformly Christian republic, nor did they all go about their evangelical work in the same way. The unchurched scoffed and doubted, and Catholics, Anglicans, and some Lutherans resolutely clung to the sacraments as means of grace, regarding the evangelical emphasis on rebirth with considerable suspicion. Moreover, evangelicals themselves differed on the appropriate methods for converting sinners and inculcating "holy conversation."

Clustered at three points in the Monocacy River Valley—in Emmitsburg, in Frederick Town, and downriver from Frederick Town on Carrollton Manor—Catholics remained beyond the pale for most Protestants.[52] No matter how distressing they found evangelical worship, few backcountry Protestants went so far as to convert to Catholicism, for the Anglicans offered a Protestant yet sacramental alternative to the twin evils of "enthusiasm" and "popery." The Reverend Frederick Hatch of Frederick Town bragged that Anglicans actually benefited from evangelical excesses. "Many young Germans now attend regularly and bring their prayer books and several gentlemen, whose prejudice against our forms of worship was great, are won over to unite in them." Yet his parish contained only eighty-five communicants at that moment, and in 1809, a big revival year, St. John's Parish in Hagerstown boasted only ten.[53] Active evangelicals greatly outnumbered active anti-evangelicals.

Though they held little hope for Catholic souls and had little to fear from the Anglicans, evangelicals took particular delight in converting the scoffers, doubters,

[50] *David's Harp*, no. 141.

[51] Cited in Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 93.

[52] For a strong anti-Catholic stance by a Hagerstown Lutheran see Johann George Schmucker, *The Prophetic History of the Christian Religion Explained; Or, a Brief Exposition of the Revelation of St. John; According to a new Discovery of Prophetical Time* . . . (Baltimore, 1817), chart following page 34; for more banal anti-Catholicism see *The Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht*, August 15, 1822.

[53] Hatch to Bishop Claggett, 1818; quoted in Williams, *History of Frederick County*, 432–33; Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, 1084.

and hecklers who lurked at the fringes of revival meetings. At an 1831 Lutheran synod meeting in Cumberland, Maryland, the host pastor boasted afterward not of the important decisions rendered by the assembled clergy but of the "sound and evangelical tenor of the various sermons delivered, which left an impression favorable to the gospel ministry, even upon the minds of scoffers at religion." A weeks-long revival followed the synod. Similarly, the Methodist itinerant Henry Boehm rejoiced at the results of an 1809 camp meeting in Washington County, Pennsylvania. "The cries of the mourners, prayers, shouting, rejoicing" continued until the early hours of the morning, until "some that were the companions of drunkards and persecutors in the first part of the meeting now swelled the number of mourners." In these encounters, evangelicals drew in the unchurched, people who once lacked even an exclusionary denominational identity but now entered into a much larger community defined by the fundamental ethic and language of evanglicism.[54]

Unlike Catholics, Anglicans, and the many doubters who never entered the evangelical fold, Lutheran evangelicals entered the fold but remained somewhat aloof. The backcountry supported several Lutheran periodicals after 1820, all of them self-consciously "experimental." Evangelicals controlled the Lutheran seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, which supplied virtually all of the clergymen for Greater Pennsylvania and the southern backcountry, and extraordinarily active evangelical pastors from the Schaeffer, Kurtz, and Schmucker families, together with their allies, engrossed the region's most important pulpits after 1800. A flood of literature advocating and celebrating revivals cascaded from their pens. Lutheran evangelicals spoke the generic "evangelical/pietist" language with impressive fluency, and some adopted the opportunistic ethic of the Methodists and United Brethern. George Schmucker, for example, took over St. John's Lutheran Church in Hagerstown in 1794. At the time, wrote Schmucker's Lutheran memorialist, "*conversion* was a strong word, and revivals were unknown," except among the upstart Methodists. Nevertheless, Schmucker immediately threw in with the evangelicals. In addition to serving five local congregations (a sort of mini-circuit), "he frequently preached in school houses and private dwellings, in barns, at cross-roads, at funerals, etc."[55]

Yet two things set Lutherans apart from other evangelicals. First, they regarded with suspicion the more riotous scenes at Methodistic and Baptist camp meetings.

[54] *The Lutheran Observer (Baltimore)*, November 15, 1831, 66–67; Wakeley, *Patriarch of One Hundred Years*, 256–57. Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990); Roger Finke and Rodney Starke, *The Churching of America: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

[55] Reverend Benjamin Kurtz, "Memorial to George Schmucker," *The Lutheran Observer*, in Williams, *History of Washington County*, 396. P. Anstadt, *The Life and Times of Rev. S. S. Schmucker, D.D.* (York, Pa., 1896); M. Diehl, *Biography of Rev. Ezra Keller* : Founder and First President of Wittenberg College (Springfield, Oh.: Ruralist Publishing Co., 1859); Schmucker, *The Prophetic History*, advance reviews on frontispiece; *Proceedings of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland, Virginia &c . . . For the Year 1820* (Baltimore, 1820). Regional Lutheran journals with an evangelical bent included

The Lutheran Observer proudly asserted that "none of the religious mechanism of modern days, has been put into operation" in Lutheran revivals. Consequently, "the converted have thus far continued to walk worthily; decency and order have prevailed." At an ideal revival meeting, wrote Hagerstown's highly evangelical pastor Ezra Keller, the "evidences of the Divine presence were manifest in the attentive ear, the tearful eye, the joyful countenance, and subdued feelings."[56] Second, Lutheran evangelicals doubted the efficacy of sudden conversions in which the sinner passed instantly from spiritual sleep to conviction of sin and thence to conversion. Instead they advocated a more gradual, certain, and decorous passage through the several stages of second birth, guided always by an educated clergy. Responsible Lutheran preachers might compress the conversion process during protracted meetings, for pastors could thus bring to "bear upon the heart" as much "truth" in three days as they might ordinarily in six weeks. Nevertheless, they remained on guard against spurious conversions at protracted meetings, insisting that new converts not only attend services but also that they undergo immediate, intensive catechism and ongoing religious instruction.[57]

Good Conversation

Evangelical religion, in its various guises, brought to the backcountry a new style of worship, a new ethic, and a new discourse. It also required of converts a new style of "conversation," or code of demeanor and personal conduct, that consciously displayed the adherents' personal holiness, particularly their lack of worldliness and pride. Good evangelical conversation extended to dress, diet, facial expressions, recreation, and even to criticisms of other peoples' personal conduct. Personal behavior, in the relentlessly Arminian world of the Methodistic evangelicals, led to salvation or damnation. Lutheran evangelicals also put as much emphasis on good works as their heritage allowed, and they proved especially willing to connect collective good conversation to the millennium.[58] An increasingly active evangelical press devoted to the goal "of using the Word to transform the world" helped to remind evangelicals of the importance of good conversation. Beginning with the Methodist Book Concern (established in 1789) and spreading even to the evangelical wings of the older denominations, the evangelical press helped to knit together

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the *Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer (Frederick Town)*; *Evangelical Lutheran Preacher and Pastoral Messenger (Winchester, Virginia)*; and *The Lutheran Observer (Baltimore)*.

[56] *The Lutheran Observer (Baltimore)*, October 15, 1831, 45, 95; Diehl, *Ezra Keller*, 113.

[57] Kurtz, *Why are you a Lutheran?*, 158–61, 183–200; George Linton, "Experimental Religion," *The Evangelical Lutheran Preacher and Pastoral Messenger (Winchester, Virginia)*, vol. 1 (1833), no. 3; F. W. Geissenhainer, "Repentance Delayed, A Dangerous Ground of Hope," *ibid.*, no. 6; "Thoughts on Revivals of Religion," *Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer (Frederick Town)*, vol. 4 (1829), 34–37.

[58] Johnson, *Redeeming America*, chaps. 3, 5; Andrews, *Methodists and Revolutionary America*, chap. 3; Wakeley, *Patriarch of One Hundred Years*, 15. Schmucker, *The Prophetic History of the Christian Religion Explained*.

a "textual community" of those who wrote, edited, and read this increasingly massive literature.[59]

We can see the logic behind injunctions to good conversation in a poster authored by John Wesley and reprinted in Frederick Town.[60] An engraving covering the top half depicts the Day of Judgment. As they rise from their graves, most of the dead proceed directly to the wide-open gates of Hell, conveniently located adjacent to their graves. The devil's minions actively recruit souls for this passage. Meanwhile, a few hardy souls find their way to the narrower, longer, and steeper passage to "New Jerusalem." The bottom half of the poster consists of an allegorical playbill describing the scenery, principle performers, and ticket information for "The Great Assize, or Day of Judgement." In this final theater, one can sit only in the pit or in the gallery. As in the accompanying engraving, the pit attracts most of the customers because of its wide open door, while the way to the gallery "is very narrow, and the steps up to it are somewhat difficult." In short, most people took the easy route to hell. But what of those desiring to sit in the gallery? Not everyone was admitted to the stairway. The standards for admission provide us with a key to understanding evangelical injunctions to "walk worthily." Interested parties could easily obtain tickets to the pit "at the easy purchase of following the pomps and vanities of the fashionable world," but admission to the gallery came "at no less rate than being converted, forsaking all, denying self." Thus it "will be in vain, for one with a tinselled coat, and borrowed [i.e., affected] language . . . to get admittance into the Upper Places."

The key to good conversation, then, was to shed worldliness and pride. The ideal of humility led naturally to a code of behavior that emphasized a plain, unaffected demeanor, understated one's worldly wealth and status, and avoided displays of pride in such ephemeral possessions. An ancient Christian image, appropriated and adapted to evangelical purposes by one of the region's first Methodist converts, graphically illustrates how a specific behavioral code grew out of these first principles.[61] John Hagerty's "Hieroglyphics of the Natural Man," a variant on the medieval image of the Tree of Life, depicts a tree rooted in "Unbelief," with a trunk formed of "Pride" and "Self will." From this trunk spread three main branches: "Pride of Life," "Lust of the Eye," and "Lust of the Flesh." Each main branch bears a variety of evil fruits, the antithesis of which Hagerty turned into a positive injunction in a matching print entitled "Hieroglyphics of the Christian." The branch la-

[59] Candy Gunther Brown, *Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 10, 17. See also Andrews, *Methodists and Revolutionary America*, 27–28.

[60] "The Great Assize," wood engraving (Frederick County, c. 1820), Prints and Photographs Division, MdHS.

[61] John Hagerty, "Hieroglyphics of the Natural Man" and "Hieroglyphics of a Christian" (Baltimore, 1791), Prints and Photographs Division, MdHS. Paula Velthuys, "John Hagerty's HIEROGLYPHICS," unpublished paper presented at the North American Print Conference, Baltimore, 1983.

beled "Pride of Life," for example, bore fruit named "Love of Praise," "Love of Honour," "Self Love," "Highmindedness," "Lightness of Spirit," and "Vainglory." These sinful attitudes led to specific behaviors that good Christians abhorred: "Unprofitable Conversation," "Foolish Jesting," "Boasting," "Unkindness," "Anger," "Strife," "Backbiting," and worse. To avoid such unpleasantness, suggested these paired images, one had to base one's life on faith and love, which naturally led one to adopt a demeanor of humility, self-denial, and peacefulness.

Hagerty's vivid images brought to life and made accessible the expectations that evangelical leaders had of their adherents, many of whom at least tried to adopt the appropriate demeanor. The German immigrant Christian Boerstler echoed the comments of numerous other observers when he noted "a certain earnestness" in the demeanor of Methodists and "Schwaben" (followers of an German Reformed minister turned semi-autonomous evangelical): "a gloomy sadness is spread on their faces and there is great timidity in their whole manner."[62] A newly-converted western Maryland couple took the injunctions to set aside worldliness and rebuild their lives around Christ to their logical extreme when they made a bonfire of their possessions, saying that "old things must be done away with," and "all things must become new."[63]

"Good conversation"—the outward signs of an evangelical ethic and identity—bound the reborn into a community of those living a just and holy life, although evangelicals differed somewhat on the details of what constituted good conversation. For instance, no surviving sources suggest that Lutheran evangelicals adopted the early Methodists' drab clothing and mournful countenances. Eventually even the Methodists mushroomed into the nation's largest denomination and lost their outsider status. By the 1830s, they had taken to obscuring the visible marks of their difference in dress and demeanor and expanding the possibilities for a larger and more inclusive evangelical community.[64]

John Hagerty's "Hieroglyphics" encapsulated an evangelical ethic demanding

[62] *The Journal of Doctor Christian Boerstler, 1785–1833*, trans. Jeffrey Wyand (typescript at MdHS), September 5, 1785. For other commentaries on the "rough exterior" of old-style Methodists, see Wakeley, *Patriarch of One Hundred Years*, 112, 445; *LJFA*, 1:346; Journal of William Duke, Lovely Lane, November 5, 1774; Diehl, *Ezra Keller*, 33, 64, 113; Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, The Backwoods Preacher* (New York, 1856), 212–13, 515–16; James Shriver to Andrew Shriver, January 1, 1826, Shriver Papers, MS 2085.1, box 1, MdHS; Henry Smith, *Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant* (New York, 1848), 244; Jesse Lee, *Short History*, 97; Ferdinand-M. Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia*, trans. Ben McCary (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1950), 33–47; *Minutes of Several Conversations . . . Composing a Form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers, and Other Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America* (Philadelphia, 1785), sections XXIII, XXV; Johnson, *Redeeming America*, 100–102; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), chap. 10.

[63] Freeborn Garrettson, *The Experiences and Travels of Freeborn Garrettson*, second ed. (Philadelphia, 1791), 194–96, cited in Heyrman, *Southern Cross*, 40.

[64] Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 193–209.

a humble demeanor from its adherents. They also served as warnings against specific behaviors. "Pride" and "Self will" led the natural man to "Love of the World" and from thence to love of money, envy, and distrust and thus to deceit, extortion, and theft. "Pride of Life" and "Lust of the Flesh" led to vices that evangelicals would eventually target for extinction: Sabbath breaking and drunkenness. Evangelical preaching included a healthy dose of exhortations against liquor and profanity. Wesley himself put "[d]runkeness, buying or selling spirituous liquors" near the top of his list of common evils, and the founders of American Methodism adopted that position at a 1784 Conference in Baltimore. Methodist preachers such as Gruber, John Baer, and Freeborn Garrettson preached this message in Greater Pennsylvania long before the advent of an organized temperance movement. Francis Asbury, not given to cowardice, said that he feared only two kinds of people: "crazy men and drunkards."[65] In the 1820s, more formal evangelicals, notably Lutherans, joined the effort in their accustomed manner by organizing, into temperance societies. By 1850 nearly every village between Winchester, Virginia, and York, Pennsylvania, supported temperance groups, which in turn banded into county-wide societies. The *Christian Almanac for Maryland and Virginia* devoted more space to temperance than to any other subject, as did any number of the tracts and periodicals with which the major voluntary societies flooded the nation. Even grand juries chimed in with temperance rhetoric. A 1787 article in the *Methodist Magazine* summed up their position:

> The best way I know of to convert a Drunkard is, to beat out of him that argument which the tribe most value themselves upon; and that is, that for all their faults they are men of honour, or honest fellows. . . . Now if the world had a just opinion of them, these wretches would be excluded from all manner of commerce with their fellow creatures, as unfit for society.

Evangelicals backed up their words with action. *The Evangelical Lutheran* told its readers that "As a community, and as Christians, we should unite our influence to arrest the progress of intemperence. . . . We must act, as well as preach. . . . Words and prayers are idle things unless attended by those means which God has placed at our disposal."[66]

[65] Quotes from Henry Boehm's journal in Wakeley, *Patriarch of One Hundred Years*, 445, and "The General Rules," in *Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church* (New York: Methodist Publishing House, 1944), 35. See also "The Nature, Design, and General Rules of the United Societies, in *A Form of Discipline . . . Considered and Approved at a Conference Held in Baltimore [1784]*, seventh ed. (Philadelphia, 1809). Richey, *Early American Methodism*, 55–57; David Martin, *Trial of the Reverend Jacob Gruber* (Frederick, Md.: David Martin, 1819); Asbury, *Journals and Letters*, 2:46 (March 30, 1795); "Skeletons of Sermons by Rev. John Baer," [c. 1800], Lovely Lane, 12–13.

[66] *Ezra Keller*, 112, 140–41, 145, 166, 208; *Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht*, January 1, 1839; *Christian Almanac . . .* (Baltimore, 1829), 3–4, 30–34; Records of the Union Temperance Society (Middletown),

When all else failed they appealed to the law. Prosecutions for liquor violations first appeared in significant numbers during the first big surge in Methodist activity in the 1780s, then rose with each subsequent wave of revivalism.[67] The link between evangelical religion and liquor prosecutions in the backcountry fit into a broader process of cultural and social integration. Some citizens furthered this process with their sustained effort to impose a uniform set of moral values on their community by initiating prosecutions, agreeing to process complaints, and maintaining a climate in which moral policing was socially acceptable. They fought an uphill battle when it came to curbing liquor consumption, though. The region's fine orchards and wheat fields made such good cider and whiskey that three hundred stills dotted the landscape of just one western Maryland county in 1810. Although Greater Pennsylvania was peopled largely by those most likely to moderate their drinking—rural, property-owning, pietistic evangelicals—many retained their citizenship in the "alcoholic republic" in which per capita alcohol consumption reached an all-time high between 1780 and 1830.[68] Nevertheless, private prosecutors persisted in their attempts to impose their increasingly evangelical if incompletely agreed-upon community norms on others.

The evangelical community temporarily excluded the intemperate, but never gave up trying to convert them. Nor did they cease to examine their own behavior, an attitude encapsulated in a popular hymn:

> O joyful sound of gospel Grace
> Christ shall in me appear
> I even I shall see his face
> I shall be holy here
> I shall be holy here
> shall be holy here.[69]

Maryland Room, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park; Richard Potts' Charge to the Grand Jury, *Frederick Town Herald*, August 21, 1802, p. 1; *Maryland Chronicle (Frederick)*, April 12, 1786, p. 1; FCC (Grand Jury Papers), November 1798 [MSA C 792] Maryland State Archives; FCC (Grand Jury Papers), 1847, [MSA 40,297–19]; *Frederick Town Herald*, September 11, 1802, p. 4; "Autobiography of Christian Boerstler," 1801, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, p. 37. *Maryland Chronicle (Frederick)*, April 12, 1786, p. 1; *Evangelical Lutheran Preacher*, vol. 2, no. 4 (1834); *The Lutheran Observer (Baltimore)*, September 30, 1831; L. Eichelberger, "Obligations in View of the Evils of Intemperance," *The Evangelical Lutheran Preacher and Pastoral Messenger (Winchester, Va.)*, vol. 2, no. 4 (1834).

[67] On the rise of morals prosecutions, see Rice, "Crime and Punishment in Frederick County and Maryland," chap. 4.

[68] Summary of 1810 census figures, *Frederick Town Herald*, January 19, 1811; W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[69] *David's Harp*, hymn no. 36.

Evangelicals and Acculturation in the Backcountry

We can see the process of acculturation at work in the creation of an evangelical community with a distinctive style, ethic, discourse, and "conversation." Surely some English-speakers hoped to effect the total cultural conversion of their German neighbors, and visa versa. Yet in the end it was the evangelicals who converted their neighbors, often overcoming their ethnic identities. Russell Richey's statement that "Methodism created . . . *a new ethnicity, a new way of being people*" can be extended to backcountry evangelicals, who wished to save souls and to prepare for the second coming by creating a Christian community of good conversation.[70] The evangelicals' feverish efforts furthered the cultural work of colonization by contributing to the creation of a more nearly uniform community in western Maryland. They established new institutions, staged new events, and created a new discourse, all of which opened gaping holes in the earthworks that had once enforced cultural separatism. A new community resulted, one that replicated neither the tidewater plantation society from which most of the English-speaking settlers came, nor the world of eighteenth-century Germany, but that drew instead from both traditions.

If anything, the evangelicals capitalized on the reconvergence in western Maryland of several streams of Old World pietism: German Reformed, Lutheran, and Wesleyan. The interconnections between these several threads of pietism are complex enough that to unravel them would require many volumes. Sketching just a few of the affinities suggests the bases for the evangelicals' success in promoting the acculturation of the backcountry's diverse peoples under the banner of Christianity. Sixteenth-century English Puritan theologians such as William Ames, for example, found a receptive audience among Reformed pietists in continental Europe because of their Biblicism and their concern for the religious renewal of the individual. Once in America those Reformed pietists founded the United Brethern in Christ upon similar ideals. There they met up with Methodists, who (through John Wesley) also came under the sway of some Puritan writers, primarily through their legalism and their practice of appointing special days of prayer. Wesley's encounters with Lutheran pietists in Europe, and particularly with the radical Moravian offshoot, created additional common ground between American Methodists and German-speakers. From Lutheran pietists he probably picked up the idea of regular class (prayer) meetings, and the Moravians' emphasis on individual spiritual rebirth deeply impressed him.[71] Similarly, the Wesleyan Love Feast became a devastatingly effective part of the United Brethern's quarterly meetings because John Wesley himself borrowed the ritual from the Moravians, themselves part of a

[70] Emphasis in the original. Richey, "The Chesapeake Coloration of Early American Methodism," 34.

[71] The literature on these interconnections is vast. The essays in Mark Noll, David Bebbington, and George Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America,*

broad Continental pietistic movement that included the German Reformed and Mennonites who in America formed the original core of the United Brethern in Christ.[72] Little wonder, then, that German Reformed, Lutherans, United Brethern, and Methodists found so much common ground in Greater Pennsylvania, for they had repeatedly encountered each other—and learned from each other—in Europe, many decades before the advent of backcountry ecumenism. Consequently, a substantial degree of acculturation and community-building could be achieved in the first century of Greater Pennsylvania's settlement, despite the initial appearance of severe cultural fragmentation in that region.

Let me conclude by relating the fates of Jacob Engelbrecht, the United Brethren in Christ, and Christian Newcomer. The Lutheran Engelbrecht went on to become Mayor of Frederick Town, in part, no doubt, due to his long-term activism in the ecumenical "Young Mens' Bible Society of Frederick City," for whom he canvassed. Nor could he help but meet fellow evangelicals (and future voters) at the occasional camp meetings and the innumerable non-Lutheran sermons he attended. The United Brethern in Christ organized as a separate denomination in 1800, but after a long flirtation they ultimately merged with the Methodists—an event which Christian Newcomer would have applauded. As for Newcomer, he died on March 12, 1830, a mere eleven days after his last ride as an itinerant. His funeral ceremony, "attended by a vast multitude" from many denominations, fittingly included two preachers: Henry Kumler preached in German, and John Zahn spoke in English. At Newcomer's funeral, it must have seemed as if Freeborn Garrettson's 1781 prophecy regarding the role of evangelical religion in the backcountry had come true. "It did appear to me," recalled Garrettson, "as if sects, and names, and parties, would fall."[73]

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the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700–1990 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) provide a good starting point. See also M. Schmidt, *John Wesley: A Theological Biography*, vol. 1. *Methodist History* devoted an entire issue to the Moravian-Wesley connection in 1986. See also Daryl Elliott, "The Lord's Supper and the United Brethren in Christ," *Methodist History*, 27 (1989): 211–25; J. Steven O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith: The Legacy of the Otterbeins* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1973); Susan O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735–1755," *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986): 811–32; Paul Kuenning, *The Rise and Fall of American Lutheran Pietism: The Rejection of an Activist Heritage* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer, 1988); A. G. Roeber, "Origin of Whatever is Not English," 220–84; Andrews, *Methodists and Revolutionary America*, 20–22.

[72] On the Love Feast as a Moravian practice, see Richey, *Early American Methodism*, 102, n. 3.

[73] *LJCN*, March 1830; *LJFG*, 114.

Manumission and Apprenticeship in Maryland, 1770–1870

T. STEPHEN WHITMAN

Historians of Chesapeake slavery in the early national period have often emphasized how slaveholders used manumission as a gradual exit from a labor system that had become politically and morally questionable. They also note that slaveholding suffered from declining profits resulting from soil exhaustion and plunging tobacco prices.[1] Writers who focus on slaves' agency have dwelt on the various means by which blacks levered themselves and their families out of bondage through manumission and self-purchase.[2] Black-white interaction appears to have been an unstable mix of cooperation, co-optation, and coercion—contests that involved struggle, negotiation, and accommodation. The process has been treated as a transitional one, propelling blacks from slavery and dependency to autonomy, however circumscribed by the legal and social climate that enveloped African Americans before the Civil War. Relatively little has been written about the patron-client relationships that outlasted slavery or about delayed manumission as a way for whites to continue to exert control over nominally free black labor.[3]

Studies of black apprenticeship resonate with claims that planters and politicians refashioned the system into a form of quasi-slavery, particularly in the wake

[1] As examples of an extensive literature treating manumission in this fashion see Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (1975; repr., New York: New Press, 1992); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975); William H. Williams, *Slavery and Freedom in Delaware: 1639–1865* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources Books, 1996); Patience Essah, *A House Divided: Slavery and Emancipation in Delaware, 1638–1865* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996); and William H. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776–1854* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). For a refinement of Berlin's views, see *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 278–81.

[2] See Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997) and T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997).

[3] For a discussion of manumission conceived of as a gift from the slaveowner, with the freedman owing continued labor as a reciprocal gift, see Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 211–14.

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of general emancipations.[4] Although examinations of manumission cluster around the period from 1780 to 1810 when northern states gradually abolished slavery, work on black apprenticeship targets the Civil War era, with perhaps a look backward to its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century origins. Taking such studies together, it is easy to produce a declension story of black emancipation in the Chesapeake. Egalitarian and/or religious sentiments coupled with the slaves' desire for freedom, prompted some late eighteenth-century slaveholders to divest themselves of their human property. By 1820 progress stalled, and half-hearted manumission gave way to slaveholders who increasingly used apprenticeship to corral free black children. The wholesale binding of more than three thousand ex-slave children in Maryland in the wake of state-sponsored abolition in November 1864 concludes this depressing account. The manumission story stresses the "transition to freedom" theme and the apprenticeship story that of "continuation of slavery." They are seldom discussed as companion strategies that whites and blacks used in tandem.

This article examines manumission in relation to apprenticeship, a stage-of-life institution whose vigor lasted well into the nineteenth century in the Chesapeake, coeval with the retention of slavery. Early manumissions of African Americans drew heavily on apprenticeship as a model, both in legal form and in social practice. The growing tendency toward delayed manumission reshaped the terms of voluntary and court-directed orphan apprenticeship and eventually diminished the craft training and educative functions of apprenticeship for both white and black children. For mid-nineteenth century black children especially, this meant a return to eighteenth-century practices of apprenticeship as a provider of a step-family and mechanism for labor control.

Marylanders apprenticed or manumitted tens of thousands of black people from the 1770s to 1860.[5] One impetus for manumission arose from the weakened fabric of slave control caused by conflict between white settlers and British officials in the years of tension that culminated in the American Revolution. Wartime British blockades of the Chesapeake disrupted the export of slave-grown tobacco and grains, and British fleets and raiding parties served as beacons of freedom for thousands of would-be runaways. One strategy for coping with these threats and stabilizing slavery was to forestall immediate flight by promising eventual free-

[4] Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Richard Paul Fuke, *Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999); and, Charles Lewis Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862–1864* (1964; repr. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2005).

[5] Data on Manumission by deed or will filed with county courts indicate that slaves were freed at the rate of anywhere from two to nine per thousand per year in various Maryland counties. Applying a mid-range rate of five per thousand per year would yield roughly forty-five thousand manumissions between 1770 and 1860. See Whitman, *Price of Freedom*, 67–68 and 133–34.

dom to blacks in the form of manumissions that would take effect in anywhere from five to twenty years. These bargains proliferated in the aftermath of American independence. "Term slaves" could be bought and sold during their remaining time of servitude, and like apprentices of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, they were treated as temporary chattel. Unlike apprentices, their promise of eventual freedom was not a legal contract, and courts offered them less protection. Nevertheless, delayed manumission held great appeal for blacks. Whites likewise cherished manumission in Maryland. While some states severely restricted or even outlawed private acts of manumission in the 1800s after events like Gabriel's or Nat Turner's rebellions, Maryland did not follow suit in the antebellum years, suggesting that its slaveholders continued to value manumission and self-purchase as devices for providing incentive to slaves and reinvigorating slavery itself.[6]

In Baltimore the spread of manumission accompanied an expansion of slavery, especially for a term of years, into craft work that had began in the 1790s. By 1813 two-fifths of craftspeople in the city held slaves, amounting to more than one-third of the city's total.[7] A quarter of the sales of Baltimore's bondsmen involved term slaves.[8] Slaves with terms of eight to fifteen years cost a third to a half less than slaves for life, and unlike apprentices they did not have to be educated or given freedom dues, nor could they petition a court to complain about their treatment. In addition, male slaves could be owned well into their adult years: in Baltimore, half were over thirty when liberated, and nearly three-quarters were over twenty-five. Perhaps most appealing was the fact that a term slave's salability made a master's investment liquid.[9]

Enslaved people nonetheless saw opportunity in this world. An 1802 slave-seller observed that a woman "want[ed] to go to Baltimore so she can get free." Another announced that two slaves would be sold "only in Baltimore, as it is their wish to live in this city." These blacks knew that Baltimore masters not only bought slaves but also sold freedom, payable with productive service over several years, perhaps augmented by earnings from "overwork" or hiring one's own time.[10]

Some masters bought slaves for life and manumitted them as term slaves in succession, much as they might bind a new apprentice when one completed an

[6] Maryland banned private acts of manumission in the 1860–1861 legislative session, after rejecting many previous efforts to restrict the practice.

[7] T. Stephen Whitman, "Slavery, Manumission, and Free Black Workers in Early National Baltimore" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1993), 18–29.

[8] Based on 1,025 advertisements, Baltimore newspapers, 1790–1830 and 1984 slave bills of sale, Baltimore County Court, Miscellaneous Court Papers, same period, Maryland State Archives.

[9] Data from manumissions of 796 male slaves, Baltimore County Court, Miscellaneous Court Papers, 1789–1830.

[10] Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, January 7, 1802; Baltimore *American*, September 8, 1818.

indenture. In fact, twenty to forty percent of Baltimore manumitters acquired new slaves: these people were modifying slavery's meaning, but not departing from it.[11] Blacks promised eventual freedom not only were cheaper, but might show less propensity to run away than slaves for life and, like apprentices, might labor to acquire future reputation. Delayed manumission could shore up a slaveowner's chances to profit from slavery and reduce risk, a strategy particularly appealing to holders of one or a few slaves, the common status of most city dwellers.

Craftsmen also enthusiastically indentured apprentices. By 1815 half of Baltimore's teenaged boys took part in an institution enjoying its heyday as a vehicle for imparting craft training and general education. Labor-hungry craft masters both owned slaves and bound apprentices.[12] White parents steered sons into crafts relatively free of slaves, such as those of millwright or coachmaker, while courts commonly bound orphans to trades in which slaves were numerous, such as nailmaking, cigar-making, tanning, and currying.[13] Parental channeling of sons away from slave-filled trades generated labor conditions akin to "crowding," driving down benefits for voluntarily bound apprentices. Half of their indentures promised less than legally mandated maintenance, craft training, education, or freedom dues, compared to about one-quarter of those bound out by the courts.[14] Apprentices in Maryland also experienced greater difficulty than counterparts in northeastern cities in gaining shorter indentures or garnering wages in lieu of maintenance.[15] Until the 1830s, indentures averaged between six and seven years in length, and no more than a handful promised wages. The availability of slave workers as alternates helped masters preserve apprenticeship as a mechanism for providing long-term labor with little cash outlay. Slavery also may have influenced masters toward scanting those apprentice benefits not applicable to slaves, such as freedom dues or educational instruction.[16]

In keeping with its character as a craft training institution, apprenticeship included relatively few girls in Baltimore. Typically, no more than one-sixth of the children placed with surrogate parents were female. The developmental history of apprenticeship applied chiefly to white boys. Whether because employers

[11] Whitman, *Price of Freedom*, 115–17.

[12] Ibid., 13–23.

[13] Samples from four counties total 7,495 indentures, of which 6,245 are from Baltimore City and County, 757 from Washington County, 257 from Talbot County, and 236 from Prince George's County, representing all indentures registered every third year from 1794 to 1865. All records are from the Orphans' Court, Indentures record groups at the Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

[14] Of 1,913 voluntary bindings, 955 (50 percent) lessened the master's obligation. Courts did so in 421 of 1,475 cases (28 percent).

[15] W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 32–75, on changes in apprenticeship in the Northeast.

[16] Masters made less than full promises of education in 688 cases (36 percent). Freedom dues were reduced in 407 cases (21 percent). Commutation of maintenance occurred in 86 cases (5 percent).

showed little interest in binding girls to learn trades, or because parents and courts were more reluctant to remove girls from parental protection, apprenticeship for girls remained an infrequent resort whose character was limited to providing maintenance and basic education.[17]

Although masters could use slave labor as a counterpoise to keep apprenticed white youths in hand, ironically they could not sustain slavery itself. African Americans strove constantly to define manumission more advantageously, or to use it in combination with apprenticeship to free themselves and their families. In 1805, seventeen-year-old Juliet bound herself to Thomas Graham until her twenty-eighth birthday, "in Consideration" of his "having paid two hundred Dollars for her freedom." Charles Brown, a free man of color, had a daughter with his wife Lucy while paying for her freedom. Maryland law stipulated that children born to prospectively manumitted women were slaves for life unless freed by the mother's deed of manumission. Brown's daughter Henny had been born before the law's enactment, but also before her mother became free. Brown compromised and indented Henny to Sarah Bennet until the age of sixteen, while Bennet dropped claims to Henny as a slave.[18]

When Elizabeth Edwards inherited several male teenaged slaves in 1812, she issued deeds of manumission promising freedom six to ten years in the future and bound them to learn blacksmithing and shoemaking, very likely from masters more able to control them.[19] The same year, "Bougo alias Combo," illegally "imported from Africa," was declared free by a Baltimore court. He bound himself for four years to Quaker Jesse Tyson, "in consideration of expences incurred" and "the pains required to teach him the English Language." Chesapeake masters also transferred slaves to Pennsylvanians by combining three actions: sale, manumission, and indenturing the new freedman to his Pennsylvania master, often for a term of service extending to age twenty-eight or beyond.[20] In all of these instances apprenticeship could serve as a genuine, if slow, passage to freedom.

Slaves who dealt with masters unwilling to work along these lines found flight or the threat thereof a potent tactic. Slaves who absconded cut into the profits of slavery through lost labor and the expense of recapture. In addition, aid from free blacks and the proximity of free territory made complete escape from Maryland

[17] Between 1800 and 1850 an average of 269 children were bound in Baltimore each year, of whom 46 (17 percent) were female. Data taken from a sample of approximately 7,500 indentures recorded by the Baltimore County Orphans' Court.

[18] Indenture of Henny Brown to Sarah Bennet, Baltimore County, Orphans' Court, Indentures, April 25, 1810.

[19] Baltimore County Court, Miscellaneous Court Papers, 1812; Baltimore County Indentures, 1812.

[20] "Report of the Committee Appointed in the Senate of Pennsylvania to investigate the cause of an Increased Number of Slaves being returned for that commonwealth, by the Census of 1830, over that of 1820," Samuel Breck, Chairman (Harrisburg, 1833).

more likely than it was farther south. All of this eroded masters' power to manumit on their own terms, particularly in Baltimore where ten thousand free blacks resided by 1820. Craftsmen reassessed their commitment to slavery. By 1830 the number of slaves and their share of Baltimore's population were in permanent decline.[21]

The ebbing of term slavery in the crafts dovetailed with the indenture of more black male apprentices. The famous transition "from servants to slaves" now began to reverse itself. But even after 1830, Baltimore masters bound fewer black apprentices than their share of the population would warrant. White superiority was not threatened by slaves' presence in the workplace. Indeed whites and blacks worked together in most crafts and industries, but black craft apprentices could be a cause for complaint, especially where slavery no longer typified the status of blacks. Apprenticeship was not seen as a shameful, slavery-like status for whites; rather, the absence of slavery made black apprenticeship threatening to whites.

The result was an effort at separation. Masters whose shops contained several apprentices bound disproportionately fewer free black boys than those who worked with a single apprentice, which suggests an attempt to minimize race-derived labor conflicts. Proto-factories employed white apprentices and slaves, but no free blacks.[22] Similar patterns prevailed in rural counties.[23] Had the disinclination to employ black apprentices originated with masters, there should have been no distinction between men who bound many apprentices and those who bound one boy at a time. Worker resentment of free blacks accounts for the pattern.

The decline of urban slavery might have generated a countervailing increase in the number of female apprentices, white or black, bound out as house servants, in lieu of slave domestics. Indeed, some evidence has been found for this substitution of apprentices for slaves in well-to-do urban households in the upper South, but no such pattern emerged in Baltimore. The parents of white girls aged twelve to twenty apparently preferred to see their daughters earning cash in the woollen mills, an option readily available in Baltimore. The annual average number of female apprentices bound to all situations dropped by 40 percent between 1800 and 1850, even as the city's population doubled and redoubled.[24]

Racial attitudes and the temporary rise of term slavery before 1830 together imposed constraints on the nature and terms of white and black apprenticeship.

[21] By 1830 the number of slaves had declined to about 4,100 (5 percent of population).

[22] Between 1794 and 1830, 480 masters in Baltimore bound two or more boys. About 84 percent of these groupings would randomly be all white; 468 (97.5 percent), involved only white boys, a shortfall of blacks statistically significant at the .02 level.

[23] In rural counties, 102 masters bound two or more boys, of whom two apprenticed blacks, versus a random distribution of 29 bindings; the disparity is significant at the .02 level.

[24] See Stephanie Cole, "Servants and Slaves: Domestic Service in the Border South, 1800–1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1994), chapter 4, for a discussion of the substitution of apprenticed servants for slaves.

Slavery itself meant something more complex and changeable, something infinitely more plastic, than the bare term implies. So too did black apprenticeship.

Understanding apprenticeship's trajectory from the late colonial period through the first half of the nineteenth century requires a multi-causal explanation.[25] At the grandest level of generalization the spread of republicanism, with its emphasis on individual autonomy, correlates chronologically to a diminishing role for white apprenticeship. Simultaneously, the rise of privately negotiated, capitalist relations of labor accompanied the decline of publicly supervised and regulated bound labor. Yet neither of these developments fully explains what happened in the Chesapeake. Baltimore manufacturers embraced apprenticeship and, for that matter, slavery at moments of dramatic economic expansion, during the heyday of Jeffersonian republicanism. Apprenticeship and slavery flourished, not as obstacles to the development of a capitalist economy, but as highly flexible institutions that could be articulated or re-articulated in ways that suited capitalism's advance. Ultimately both apprenticeship and slavery became irrelevant, but only after these institutions had helped create the new conditions that drained them of meaning, conditions which permitted apprenticeship especially to shed its emphasis on craft training and resume its earliest American role, akin to indentured servitude, as a mode of controlling the labor and providing stepfamilies for children.

The relationship between apprenticeship, indentured servitude, and slavery, complex as it may have been for white apprentices, assumed still other guises for African American children. Providing a fictive family had initially been at the core of apprenticeship, with its reproduction of familial power relations and labor obligations. Some scholars have described black apprenticeship as presenting a façade of familial relations that used a legal fiction to obtain the benefits of slavery without incurring the obligations of supporting slaves in infancy or old age, and that could circumvent legislated emancipation.[26]

Some evidence seems to support this argument. White masters in Eastern Shore Maryland did bind many free black children beginning in the 1790s, the moment at which appreciable numbers of slaves were manumitted. Children with living parents could be bound if they suffered "through the extreme indigence or poverty of their parents," if they were illegitimate, or if their parents had aban-

[25] See Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice*; Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Richard B. Stott, *Workers in the Metropolis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), and "Artisans and Capitalist Development," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 16 (1996): 257–72; Paul Gilje, "The Rise of Capitalism in the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 16 (1996): 159–82. The last two pieces contain extensive bibliographies.

[26] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 131–66; Richard Paul Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor: The Black Family Under Pressure in Post-Emancipation Maryland," *Agricultural History*, 62 (1988): 57–74; and Fuke, "Peasant Priorities?: Tidewater Blacks and Land in Post-Emancipation Maryland," *Locus*, 3 (1990): 21–45.

TABLE 1: PROPORTION OF BLACKS, COURT INITIATED INDENTURE BY COUNTY, 1794–1850

	Baltimore	Prince George's	Talbot	Washington
Percentage of Black Apprentices	10	41	58	10
Percentage of Blacks in the Free Population	14	9	4	3

Source: Orphans' Court(s), Apprenticeship Records, maintained at the Maryland State Archives.

doned them. So could white children. After 1818 black children could also be bound when "not at service or learning a trade."[27] Perhaps whites driven by prejudice and wanting labor on their terms bent apprentice laws to draw black children into the institution.

A comparison of black apprentice experiences in different economic regions of Maryland provides a more complex picture. Statewide, less than a tenth of indentures cited abandonment, illegitimacy, or indigence to justify binding a black child. The proportions roughly match those for whites, offering little support for the idea that county courts expanded or abused statutory authority to bind out blacks.[28] Still, blacks in rural counties generally were bound out more commonly than whites, though not in Baltimore, as Table 1 shows.

The overrepresentation of rural blacks amounts to one or two more indentures annually than black population share would predict. Generalizations about black encounters with apprenticeship must be tempered accordingly. The propensity to bind very young children, suggestive of desire to control parents, varied according to both county and race (see Table 2).

Substantial proportions of black apprentices were bound before age ten all across Maryland. In Talbot and Prince George's Counties, between 40 and 50 percent of whites were also bound out under age ten, the age at which poor children went to work as farmhands or house servants. In craft-oriented Baltimore and Washington, race made a difference. Whites managed to wait until age fourteen or older to take up indentures as craft trainees, but some blacks were bound out earlier as servants.

African American parents did have a voice in court-directed bindings. They, like whites, were to be consulted in the choice of a child's master. This did not give parents the last word. They could only veto an indenture by posting bond of several hundred dollars, but consent of black kin was sought and obtained nearly as often as that of whites where boys were concerned. Forty-one percent of black

[27] *Laws of Maryland*, 1793, ch. 5, sec. 2; 1818, ch. 179.

[28] For blacks, 8.8 percent of indentures cited indigence, abandonment, or illegitimacy; for whites, 6.5 percent.

TABLE 2: AGE AT BINDING, COURT INITIATED INDENTURES BY COUNTY, 1794–1850

	Baltimore	Prince George's	Talbot	Washington
Percentage of Blacks Under 10	33.9	47.5	52.0	45.1
Percentage of Whites Under 10	15.8	37.7	44.8	18.7

Source: Orphans' Court(s), Apprenticeship Records, maintained at the Maryland State Archives.

boys' indentures noted consent of a relative as did 45 percent of whites'. In comparison, only about 20 percent of white parents or kin, and 15 percent of black counterparts consented to the indenture of girls.[29]

All in all, the high proportion of young black apprentices relative to their share of the population in rural counties indicates that for free people of color, orphan apprenticeship functioned much as it had with whites in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It provided children with step-families, desired or otherwise, in the absence of kin. At a time when most blacks had been born as slaves or had enslaved siblings and cousins, family connections were not extensive. Besides, kinfolk who were still enslaved could not take in orphaned children. The overall proportion of blacks who were indentured and the share who left home before their tenth birthdays dipped lowest in Baltimore, home to a large black population with ever-growing family networks.

More black Baltimoreans kept their children in the household longer. Those promised craft training took up their tools at age thirteen or fourteen, only a year or so earlier than whites.[30] Rural African American boys promised craft training usually began serving at age twelve, two or three years later than black boys bound to farm work or domestic service. In all counties, blacks bound to non-artisan work, like whites, were apprenticed between the ages of nine and eleven.[31]

Thus family resources and well-being influenced the choices open to black apprentices, in part independently of race. Black parents who could support a boy until he reached his early teens had a chance that he would learn a trade. Over 70 percent of African-American boys indentured by their parents at fourteen or older received craft training, as did 51 percent of court-bound boys. In rural

[29] One hundred thirty-one of 321 black boys bound by justices of the peace in Baltimore were indentured with consent of kin versus 121 of 271 whites, in a data set from the 1830s and 1840s. For female apprentices the comparable figures are 23 of 112 white girls, and 5 of 32 black girls.

[30] Parentally bound black boys averaged an age of 13.2, with N=73; for court actions the average was 13.6, with N=136.

[31] In Baltimore, 314 blacks were bound to farming, domestic service, or no trade; average age of 11.1. For Prince George's 10.4 (N=38), Talbot, 9.2 (N=80), and Washington, 10.1 (N=81).

counties, too, age mattered: only 18 percent of blacks bound to farm labor had reached age fourteen.[32] Boys who left home at age eleven or younger were bound to non-artisan work 69 percent of the time by their parents, and 79 percent of the time by the courts.[33]

Courts did not intensively channel black boys into unskilled work. Rather, they employed partially colorblind class standards that nonetheless placed a larger share of pre-teen blacks in servitude than whites. Once bound, black apprentices might be treated like chattel. Like prospectively manumitted slaves, they might find their remaining time of servitude transferred by sale to another master. Although county courts sometimes classed bound African-Americans as temporary chattel, this does not mean that justices reenslaved black apprentices. It does mean that, where apprenticeship became blacker, the perception of the institution and the regard for the freedom of individual apprentices declined. Still, it is well to remember that rural orphans' courts typically bound five or six black boys a year out of free black county populations of one to three thousand during the first half of the nineteenth century.

During this period majorities of blacks were enslaved in most of Maryland's rural counties, and control of black children's labor or use of them as pawns was typically achieved through delayed manumission and/or self-purchase. The centerpiece of strategies that employed manumission to sustain slavery as a stage-of-life institution were deeds that would free women at the age of twenty-five, twenty-eight, or thirty with children born during their terms of service who would become slaves until a like age. Apprenticeship gained, albeit very slowly, as larger numbers of blacks were born free or managed to buy freedom for all their family members.

For blacks in Baltimore, apprenticeship operated as a trade school, as it did for whites. Between 1794 and 1830 over 90 percent of white boys bound in Baltimore learned the "art and mystery" of a trade. As the belief spread that city life corrupted young boys a shift occurred. By the 1850s the new House of Refuge routinely bound its charges to farms, often far outside the city. The "new" conception of farm work as the ideal training for city boys was, ironically, denied to blacks; the House of Refuge took in only white children.[34]

All the same, craft opportunities declined earlier for African Americans. Between 1794 and 1830, 63 percent of black boys bound by their parents learned a skill, as did 56 percent of black orphan apprentices. But between 1840 and 1870 the proportion of skilled black apprenticeships fell to 27 percent, and the range of

[32] Thirty-five of 195 boys bound to non-craft work were 14 or older in Prince George's, Talbot, and Washington Counties.

[33] Forty of 56 (71 percent) blacks 14 or older were promised craft training in voluntary bindings between 1794 and 1870, for institutions the figure was 75 of 146 (51 percent). For the 11 or under group, parental bindings to crafts were 18 of 58 (31 percent); bindings by courts, 33 of 156 blacks (21 percent).

[34] Of 517 institutional bindings in Baltimore City and County from 1840 to 1870, 197 (38 percent) promised training as a farmer, house servant, or laborer, or stipulated nothing about skill training.

crafts open to them narrowed. Barbers and caulkers alone accounted for half of all black skilled indentures after 1840. If blacks in Baltimore had some chance of craft training, their rural counterparts did not. In the countryside, magistrates evidently thought farm labor a useful art for a black boy to learn, pointing him toward field labor and social subordination. Only about one-tenth of black indentures promised craft training. In largely agricultural economies like those of Prince George's and Talbot Counties, roughly half the whites bound by courts also worked as farmhands. In contrast, in modestly industrialized Washington County, courts as well as parents found ways to place virtually all white boys into crafts.[35] Racial thinking, complicated by class in underdeveloped economies, shaped patterns whereby most white boys, particularly those with some capital, learned crafts while blacks did not.

Whatever training black apprentices received, they seldom gained the same benefits as white boys, particularly with respect to education. Courts binding African Americans routinely provided them with less education than whites or with none at all. Black apprentices fared best with Baltimore masters. Baltimore's free people of color certainly sought literacy. Their first private school, the African Academy, opened in 1802 under the sponsorship of black Methodists. Black-organized night and Sunday schools also flourished.[36] With such facilities available, 75 percent of black boys bound out before 1830 were promised basic literacy. Throughout the antebellum period, free African Americans overcame poverty and kept schools open. By 1860, three-quarters of the city's free blacks could read.[37] Growing proportions of black apprentices signed their indentures after 1840, indicating that writing, a skill separate from reading, had spread as well.[38]

Even those black boys who learned to read and write had a smaller chance to learn the empowering skills of arithmetic. Of 143 parentally sponsored black indentures, only thirteen included ciphering, and all but one of these indentures began before 1820, that is, before white resistance to free black advancement crystallized. In the same years, more than two-fifths of voluntarily bound white boys learned to cipher to the rule of three or cast accounts, but few white masters envisioned teaching black boys the arithmetic they would need to run their own businesses.[39]

Baltimore's judges were, during the early part of the century, more punctili-

[35] In Prince George's, 46/90 (51 percent) of white bindings promised no craft skill; in Talbot 21/38 (55 percent); and in Washington County, 28/315 (9 percent).

[36] Mary Carroll Johansen, "'Intelligence, Though Overlooked': Education for Black Women in the Upper South, 1800–1840," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 93 (1998): 443–66; Leroy Graham, *Baltimore: The Nineteenth Century Black Capital* (New York: University Press of America, 1982); and Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 160–69.

[37] Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 163–69.

[38] In the 1830s, 31 percent of white boys and 11 percent of blacks signed indentures. After 1840 proportions were 75 percent for whites and 25 percent for blacks.

[39] Twelve of 71 black boys voluntarily bound before 1820 received promises of math training; for whites, 565 of 1300 (43 percent).

ous in providing black orphans with all the training required by law. Before 1820, 43 percent of the African-American boys they bound were to learn arithmetic, while 83 percent, like 89 percent of white orphans, were to learn to read. Nonetheless, Baltimore's courts slowly coalesced around the idea that black children required less education than whites. Throughout the nineteenth century the orphans' court and city justices demanded that most masters of white boys see to it that they learned to read, write, and cipher to the rule of three. As late as the 1850s, three-quarters of white boys bound out by courts received such promises. But after 1830 education was ignored in nearly half of black orphans' indentures, while judges opted for cash payments in lieu thereof in another quarter. Only a quarter were to be taught to read, and only one-seventh to cipher. For black girls, the situation was even worse, as only the smallest numbers received any promise of education beyond reading.

In counties in which blacks constituted a majority or near-majority of the population, such as Prince George's and Talbot, black apprentices had virtually no hope of gaining an education. Black parents lacked the negotiating leverage that a tighter urban labor market afforded their Baltimore counterparts, and county courts stretched the apprenticeship laws to their limits. "Reasonable" education for blacks in these counties meant none in more than 95 percent of contracts. And with education, race was *the* operative factor. White boys might be bound to farm labor like black boys, but courts required most masters to educate them. In Washington County, where slaves and free blacks amounted to less than 20 percent of the population, fears of educated free blacks swayed the courts less, although they still opted to omit education from black apprentices' indentures about half the time. In sum, black boys could hope for an education to the extent that local blacks provided schools. Where black literacy offered benefits to white employers without cost, it was tolerated, if not supported. Where whites wanted to enforce black dependence as a cheap reserve of agricultural labor, educational requirements of apprenticeship simply did not apply for people of color.

In the less socially meaningful area of freedom dues, black and white boys were treated alike. Both were more likely to receive cash than clothes or tools. But with respect to apprentices' control over portions of their labor, blacks again fared worse than whites. Special agreements allowed about 10 percent of white boys to work in grain harvests and keep their wages, or to take time off to visit parents, or to perform some craft work for their own benefit. Other parents negotiated indentures that ended before a boy's twenty-first birthday, a particularly valuable enhancement. Virtually no blacks gained these privileges.[40] While masters felt comfortable "giving" cash to white and black apprentices, they apparently

[40] In Washington County, 67 of 563 (12 percent) white boys had the right to labor in the harvest, compared with none of the 90 black boys.

could not stomach the connotations of black independence that accompanied controlling their own time.

In reviewing this data, it must be stressed once again that not all black indentures were court-directed. In Baltimore, for example, before 1816 most apprenticed black boys were bound at the request of their kin, and many of their apprentice masters were themselves black. Robert Parron, for example, bound his fifteen-year-old son James to Solomon Richards, a blacksmith, in 1802; his younger son John followed in 1805. In addition to the psychological benefits his sons enjoyed working for a black man, Parron secured Richards's agreement that both boys were to be taught to "read, write, and cipher to the rule of three."[41] These perceived benefits did not apply to daughters. Black parents displayed a fixed aversion to indenturing girls: only 11 percent of black female indentures occurred voluntarily, compared to 31 percent of white girls' bindings. When courts did bind out black girls, consent was given in less than a quarter of the indentures.[42]

From 1816 to 1830 the proportion of black boys bound voluntarily dropped steeply from 61 to 38 percent, while white rates held steady at about 56 percent. Neither white artisan resentment nor more aggressive action on the part of white officials can explain this marked decline. In rural counties courts rather than parents generated most black apprenticeships throughout the period, but there too, voluntary bindings declined after 1816, from one-quarter to one-sixth between 1817 and 1830, and to less than one-tenth from 1831 to 1850.[43]

After 1815 demand for cotton skyrocketed, and Deep South planters sought new slaves from the Chesapeake, leading to an upsurge in kidnapping of free blacks and slaves as well. Harsher laws and an anti-kidnapping society failed to curb the problem.[44] Under these circumstances, black parents' withdrawal from voluntarily binding their children speaks more to prudence than rejection of apprenticeship. Handing over a child to a master risked an abuse of authority that might put an apprentice in a kidnapper's hands, or a boy running a master's errand might be scooped up by scoundrels intent on turning a profit with unscrupulous slave dealers.

In addition to the dangers of kidnapping, black masters became more scarce. Only in the booming, full-throttle growth that characterized Baltimore in the 1790s and 1800s could a handful of black craftsmen win their way to the status of

[41] Baltimore County, Orphans' Court, Indentures, 1802 and 1805.

[42] Of 158 indentures of black girls not designated as orphans, and bound by the courts, 37 recorded the consent of a relative.

[43] In the three counties collectively, 6 of 23 black indentures were voluntary before 1817 (26 percent); 5 of 30 (17 percent) were voluntary from 1817 to 1830; 7 of 116 (6 percent) were voluntary from 1831 to 1850.

[44] Carol Wilson, *Freedom at Risk* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994); Julie Winch, "Philadelphia and the Other Underground Railroad," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 111 (1987): 3–25; Whitman, *Price of Freedom*, 80–82.

master. After 1815 resumption of European competition together with the rise of factories squeezed small-scale producers, while increasing immigration and depressed wages rendered apprenticeship less attractive for all masters, black or white. By 1820 only a tiny proportion of blacks listed in Baltimore's directories and tax lists were designated as skilled craftsmen.[45]

After 1820 few African American parents willingly put their sons in white hands. Not only were opportunities fewer and risks greater, but the need to bind out children as part of a strategy to free the entire family diminished as more blacks were born free. Alternatively, slavery itself could protect black children from being bound by the courts as "indigent," "vagrant," or "not usefully employed."

In the early 1840s, Ben Copper, a free black sailor, hired his two sons to Patrick Gallagher just before shipping out on a voyage. Worried that Gallagher might press the orphans' court to bind out his sons during his absence, he made out bills of sale for the boys and presented them as slaves to his friend Thomas Winston. When Gallagher in fact induced a justice of the peace to bind the boys, claiming that they were indigent, Winston petitioned the orphans' court to have the indentures voided, and produced the bills of sale to prove that Copper's sons were slaves, beyond the grasp of the courts, and Gallagher.[46]

An African American parent who owned one or more children could counter assertions of indigence and prevent having those children bound out. Evidence that black parents employed this legal maneuver arises from data regarding the frequency with which they delayed manumissions of their children. In Baltimore, where court-initiated bindings of blacks were rare, only 10 percent of black-granted manumissions of children were delayed. In rural counties 23 percent of parental manumissions made children into term slaves. In Kent County, where orphan apprenticeship had become a heavily black institution as early as the late eighteenth century, 31 percent of black-granted manumissions were delayed.[47]

Some blacks sought not to avoid the courts but to use them to seek protection from abusive masters through petitions that ran the gamut of complaints. In 1848, for example, Henry Davis complained that Thomas Knighton had understated his age and therefore held him illegally. Davis further argued that he should not have been bound at all, as Knighton's claim that he was a "pauper, vagrant, or lazy and worthless free negro," was inaccurate—he was "regularly and industriously employed" at the time of his binding. The court subpoenaed five witnesses to

[45] In 1810 the Baltimore City Directory identified 41 of 123 free blacks as skilled (33 percent); in 1819 the Directory identified 59 of 548 (11 percent). See Fry's *Baltimore Directory for 1810* (Baltimore: John Fry); *The Baltimore Directory, corrected up to June, 1819* (Baltimore: Samuel Jackson).

[46] Baltimore County, Orphans' Court, Petitions, 1846.

[47] For Baltimore 7 of 68 black manumissions of children were delayed; other Maryland counties, 73 of 316; Kent County, 31 of 99. For Kent, see Christine M. Daniels, "Alternative Workers in a Slave Society: Kent County, Maryland, 1675–1810" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1990).

get to the bottom of things.[48] In 1860 Robert Mills sought to have his indentures cancelled because Francis Barringer treated him badly. The court did so.[49] Not all petitions succeeded, but access to the courts, however imperfect a remedy, marked a clear distinction between apprentices and slaves, even slaves who had been promised manumission.

Like slaves, black apprentices ran away on occasion but less frequently than whites, hardly what one would expect of people treated as chattel. White runaways often appear to have been trying to rejoin their families or to have been assisted by kinfolk in making their escape. Fewer black boys had or could maintain strong family ties after they were bound. After all, many free black children had enslaved fathers who could not protect them. Black runaway rates were closest to white rates in Baltimore, where free black communities and kin networks were most extensive.[50] As with so many features of African American life in the Chesapeake, residence in Baltimore with its vibrant free black community could mitigate many disadvantages.

If we turn to the notorious final chapter of apprenticeship in Maryland, i.e., its use by slaveholders to indenture three thousand black children in the wake of the state's 1864 abolition of slavery, here too, regional distinctions arose.[51] By 1864 slavery was only barely alive in Maryland. A statewide initiative by unionists to end the institution reflected emerging realities. In northern counties and in Baltimore, the shift away from slavery had long predated the Civil War. Along the Potomac, the war had swiftly destroyed the peculiar institution, as thousands of blacks fled to join the army or find work in Washington or Baltimore.[52] In these

[48] Petition of Henry Davis, Baltimore County Orphans' Court, in Schweninger Collection of Black Petitions, Maryland State Archives.

[49] Petition of John Russell, 1848, and Petition of Robert Mills, 1860, Baltimore County Register of Wills (Petitions and Orders), Schweninger Collection, MSA.

[50] In Talbot County 4 percent (3 of 70) of runaway apprentices were identified as black, compared to 25 percent of indentures; advertisements taken from the *Easton Gazette* and the *Maryland Herald*, 1794–1845, as compiled by R. Bernice Leonard, in *Bound to Serve: Indentures in Talbot County 1794–1920* (St. Michael's, Md.: By the author, 1983). In Baltimore, 5 percent (30 of 550) of runaway apprentices were black, compared to 7 percent of indentures (advertisements from the *Maryland Journal and Commercial Advertiser* and the *Baltimore American*, 1791–1821). In Washington County 2 percent (5 of 250) of runaways compared to 4 percent of indentures (advertisements from the *Maryland Herald, Hagerstown Gazette*, and *Hagerstown Torchlight*, 1790–1834).

[51] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom*, 131–66; Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor" and "Peasant Priorities?"; Rebecca Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985) and "Exploring the Meaning of Freedom: Post-Emancipation Societies in Comparative Perspective, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 68 (1988): 407–28; Robert Edgar Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888*, 2nd ed. (Malabar, Fla.: Krieger Pub. Co., 1993); Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica & Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); and Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 228–55.

[52] Barbara Fields estimated that over ten thousand Maryland slaves served in the Union army and

areas, the adoption of a new state constitution that abolished slavery in November 1864 resulted in very few children being bound out. In Washington County, only three blacks were indented in all of 1864 and 1865, and in Baltimore nine.

Ninety percent of the indentures occurred in Anne Arundel, Calvert, and four Eastern Shore counties—Talbot, Dorchester, Somerset, and Worcester.[53] Here enslaved blacks constituted more than a quarter of the population and outnumbered free people of color by about three to two. Few indentures were registered in Caroline, Kent, or Queen Anne's, neighboring Eastern Shore counties where free people of color were a majority of the black population. Several factors, therefore, determined where black children would be indented. First, a desire to direct and control rural black labor and prevent urban migration could render children's indentures a useful tool. Second, wherever they had hitherto lived primarily with slaves, whites sought to underline their supremacy in the face of sudden liberation. Finally, the absence of constraints from federal or state authorities sympathetic to blacks or suspicious of would-be secessionists permitted mass indentures.

In Talbot County, in the last two months of 1864, 227 blacks were indentured, compared to thirteen in all of 1860 and an average of five or six per year prior to 1850. More than half were under ten, below the threshold for farm labor, and nearly 40 percent were girls, about three times the normal proportion.[54] Their masters intended not to bind prospective field workers but to hold apprentices' parents in the area and avoid loss of seasonal adult labor. Binding young children was not a new strategy. Planters had indentured genuinely parentless children, or those "orphaned" when free children lost an enslaved father to the auction block. Black parents also sometimes bound a child as part of a negotiation to gain freedom for an entire family.

Nevertheless, the events of 1864 represented a shift in emphasis within the "traditional" universe which had mingled delayed manumissions with occasional black indentures. Talbot County's orphans' court had now and again mandated that a black boy learn a craft or acquire literacy. In 1864 no African American children received such guarantees, and the orphans' court made little attempt to secure parents' consent, thereby silently confirming the doctrine that slaves had no legal parents and underlining the view that the emancipated were still liable to be treated as chattel.

Black parents enlisted Freedman's Bureau agents to prevent further inden-

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navy during the war and quotes contemporary estimates that thirty thousand slaves, one-third of the state's total, had fled their masters. See *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 90–130; and *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, Series I, Volume I, *The Destruction of Slavery*, Ira Berlin et al., eds. (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 329–91.

[53] See Fuke, "Planters, Apprentices, and Forced Labor," 63; and Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*.

[54] Talbot County Indentures, 1864. In the sample of indentures between 1800 and 1850, black girls were 13 percent (12 of 92) of those indentured.

tures, but it proved difficult to retrieve children from masters who had virtually kidnapped them during the autumn of 1864. Only the passage of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1866 opened that door. Judge Hugh Lennox Bond, a Republican, voided indentures, arguing that Maryland laws allowing lower educational standards for black apprentices were "in opposition to the whole tenor and scope of the 'Civil Rights bill,'" an opinion upheld on appeal by Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase.[55] By 1870 black and white apprenticeship had virtually disappeared in Maryland.

The factors shaping apprenticeship and changing that shape over time for black and white boys and girls, their parents, their masters and the courts exhibit similarities across racial lines. For all male apprentices, regardless of race, the chances to learn a craft were greater in urban settings, as were educational opportunities. Black and white parents also proved less effective in obtaining promises of skill training and education than orphans' courts. On the other hand, African American apprentices, especially in rural areas, secured substantially fewer of apprenticeship's benefits.

In the end the discriminatory application of apprenticeship to blacks may have had little to do with the presence of slavery. Apprenticeship for black children could and did succeed slave status but often in creative combination with delayed manumission to extract both adults and kindred children from enslavement. Such strategies could even include using slavery to block non-consensual indentures. White employers and masters did not adopt apprenticeship as a simple substitute for slavery, either. In Baltimore slaveholders used the terms slavery and delayed manumission in lieu of apprenticeship until the 1820s. For the most part, only black boys who found black masters experienced apprenticeship as a trade school before 1830. Baltimore whites began to apprentice increasing numbers of black boys after the decline of slavery there, but no mass indenturing occurred in 1865. In the countryside, blacks constituted a large share of apprentices, but the institution remained marginal as an employer and controller of black youth, precisely because of the gradual transition from slavery to freedom as the normal condition of rural blacks. Only the counties most reliant on slavery in 1864 reached for the expedient of apprenticeship.

In short, structural explanations of black apprenticeship as an offshoot of slavery, or a debased version of craft apprenticeship, do not capture the many uses of the institution. Dwelling on the dramatic but unrepresentative events of 1864 and 1865 and reading backward from the momentary impulses of planters in a few of Maryland's counties obscure a more complex interrelation between manumission and apprenticeship: All participants in those institutions, black or white, played a part in remaking apprenticeship, as did local economic and social circumstances.

[55] See in re Turner, 24 Federal Cases 337; No. 14,247 (1867). See Fuke, "Planters, Apprentices, and Forced Labor," 72–73, and Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 151–55.

89 Days Off Okinawa: A Captain's Diary

C. HOMER BAST

Commissioned on June 25, 1944, at Pittsburgh, *LST 677* cast off into the Ohio River bound for New Orleans. She was much like any other newly built LST[1] with a few exceptions. The mast lay on the main deck to allow for passage under low bridges; she had six boat davits cradling six LCVPs,[2] instead of the usual two; and she was the first ship from this yard to be equipped with radar. Lt. C. Homer Bast, of Easton, Maryland, commanded a crew of fifteen officers and 104 men, who had trained at Camp Bradford, Little Creek, Virginia. On July 3 they reached New Orleans and eight days later steamed for Panama City. After subsequent trips back to New Orleans, and thence to Guantanamo Bay, *LST 677* joined a convoy bound for San Diego via the Panama Canal. Along the way, Lieutenant Bast drilled his men constantly.

By the end of September 1944 they were in Pearl Harbor, to be "converted from an LST to a 'mother ship' for small vessels," whose mission was to provide "medical, commissary, water, fuel . . . fresh and frozen provisions, dry stores, and ship's service articles if possible" to smaller craft until facilities could be established ashore. She took on bunks for three hundred, placed two Quonset huts on what had been the tank deck—one for officers in transit, a second for a bakery—and enlarged the sick bay. *LST 677* had become a floating supply depot, kitchen, and barracks.

The crew grew to 141 men who were as yet unaccustomed to shipboard discipline. Bast found it necessary to bring several men before Captain's Mast and sentence them to five days of bread and water. "I feel like Captain Bligh on occasions," he confessed, but "most of the younger men have little regard for authority." The

[1] Landing Ship Tank. LSTs were a British invention. Originally designed to carry tanks, other armored vehicles, trucks, troops, etc., they were modified to serve many purposes. LSTs were designed to run aground on the invasion beach and open their bow doors to land tanks directly on the beach, a much more efficient process than offloading into smaller landing craft or at docks. The Normandy invasion had been delayed to provide an additional month's production of LSTs.

[2] Landing Craft, Vehicles and Personnel—small landing craft that carried about a platoon of troops or small vehicles such as jeeps for beach assault.

Opposite: A Japanese plane, shot down by U.S. anti-aircraft fire, crashes on Okinawa. (Author's collection.)

Raised in Baltimore and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, C. Homer Bast retired in 1979 after a long and distiguished academic career at Roanoke College.

behavior of his officers was "upsetting" as well. They talked about others and were slow to develop "a proper officer–enlisted man relationship. Too much buddy stuff goes on." When his executive officer requested guidance from superiors, they replied, "Are you and the captain running the ship or is a petty officer running the ship?" Bast remained fair but firm until the issue was resolved. The ship soon got a reputation for "tautness."

On February 2, 1945, *LST 677* joined a convoy headed for Tulagi in the Solomons. Bast held "general drills, tactical maneuvers, and flag hoist drills." At Tulagi he restocked provisions and waited until March 12, when the next convoy headed to Ulithi, in the West Caroline Islands, was assembled. The crew drilled in signaling and tactical maneuvers and for the first time practiced anti-aircraft gunnery on towed sleeves. On March 21 they reached Ulithi and fitted out for the run to their ultimate destination—Okinawa.

The landings at Okinawa precipitated the last and most ferocious battle in the Pacific prior to the planned invasion of Japan. The Japanese were prepared to defend the island fiercely, to let the Americans know what lay in store in the event they decided to invade Japan. Heavily armed, dug-in infantry let the Americans land, then shaped a long, grueling battle that held them in place while Imperial air and naval forces, often committed to suicide attacks, swept across the anchorages and beaches. For eighty-nine days, *LST 677* was stationed off the initial beachhead at Hagushi on Okinawa's western side, supplying the vast numbers of smaller naval craft that in turn carried men and supplies to the island. What follows are portions of C. Homer Bast's reconstructed account—based on his wartime diary, personal letters, and official reports and minimally edited for clarity—of the invasion of Okinawa as he witnessed it.

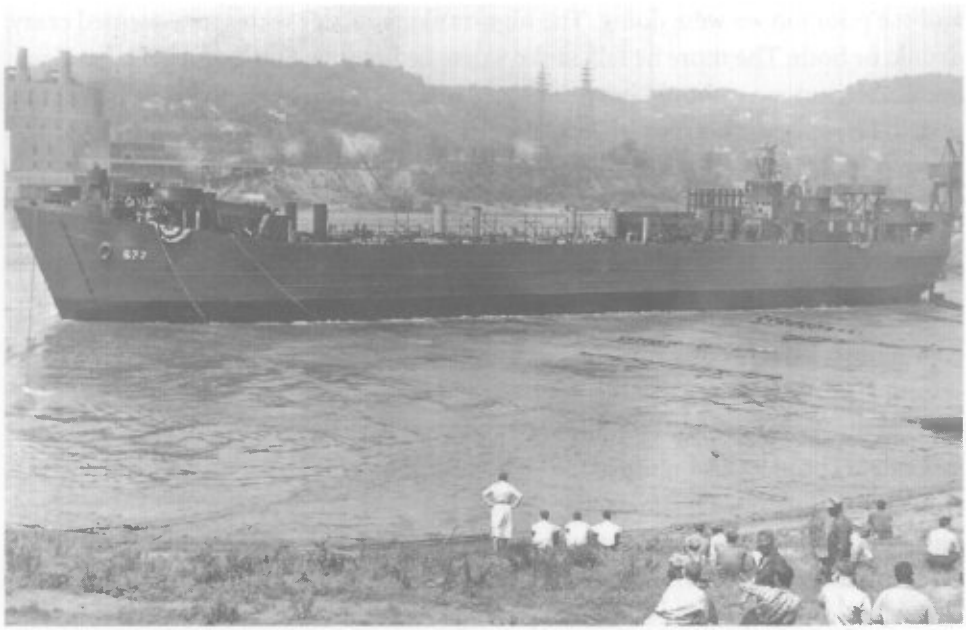
— *Ed.*

En Route to Okinawa

The days at Ulithi were filled with action for the ship but mostly for our boats. . . . These islands are flat and low-lying with sandy beaches, palm trees, and rather thick vegetation covering part of the coral. . . . Ships are anchored as far as the eye can see. There is no end to the long grey line. It feels good to be here in spite of the strong breeze and heavy swell, . . . but my exuberance for the twenty-five-mile-long, five-mile-wide anchorage soon dimmed. The protection it afforded LSTs was minimal. . . . The *677* rolls constantly from the huge swells sweeping in from the sea. Small vessels are afforded little protection. Riding in an LCVP brings spray and green water on the occupants.

As darkness came on the night of March 21 an LSM[3] urgently requested a small

[3] Landing Ship Medium, much larger than LCVPs but smaller than LSTs. They were open, i.e., no overhead deck, and were large landing craft that carried tanks, vehicles, artillery, and troops.



Launch of LST 677 *at Pittsburgh, June 15, 1944. (Author's collection.)*

boat so that a sick seaman might be transferred to a larger ship with operation facilities. The harbor was blacked out. It was difficult for boat handlers to find their way. I was reluctant to agree, but it was an emergency. I sent one of the LCVPs. . . . In the meantime our doc was stricken with appendicitis. The boat pool surgeon, who had been riding with us, agreed that an operation was necessary. Preparations were made, and by 0100 on the twenty-second our first surgical case was history.

The morning found the radio jammed with traffic for the *677,* most concerning the use of our small boats. Messages about meetings were in abundance. Interestingly . . . flotilla and group commanders have finally realized our small boat limitations and have backed off from their unreasonable demands. Most in authority are hesitant about ordering us around. Few know under whose command we actually fall. Eventually the word will get around that Admiral Turner[4] is calling the shots.

One of the dispatches received indicated that a meeting of all the LST COs[5] was to be held on the flagship *Panamint* located ten miles from the *677.* The waves were high and I was drenched after the long ride. So many of the COs I had known elsewhere were present. . . . The conference was a long diatribe about the inadequacy of the Naval Reserve, the sloppy appearance of the ships and personnel,

[4] Admiral Richard K. Turner was Commander of Amphibious Forces in the Pacific. At Okinawa his official title was Commander Joint Expeditionary Force, in command of the Okinawa invasion forces.

[5] Commanders ("commanding officer").

and the poor job we were doing. The high-ranking officer who spoke seemed crazy, drunk, or both. The more he talked the worse he became. Some of what he said was applicable, but most should have remained unsaid. It was a relief when the meeting ended. I have never been so irked at the "brass." . . . After the meal a short GQ[6] was called but then was secured and we went to a movie. Outside the wind blew and the rain beat down.

March 23 was cloudy, rainy, and gusty with heavy swells and with the wind blowing a good twenty-five knots. No meetings were scheduled nor were there urgent messages. There was even time to study the operations manual. . . . A group commander asked about available boats despite my message of last night that only several LCVPs were in use. One boat was being repaired; another picked up spare parts at the end of the atoll. At this late hour they have not returned. With this wind and tide it could be cast upon an atoll. In addition, guard mail[7] must be picked up. Ship's work goes on. The boats that are out late have safely returned. I am relieved. I am proud of the way the boat crews have handled themselves. I told them.

Most of the British vessels anchored here yesterday slipped out. Tankers, of course, are always present. More fascinating than the "train" were the destroyers as they played in the atoll. Scattered about were the hospital ships, clean and white with their red crosses. All about there is suspense and expectancy that eats at us and never lets us rest. The weather is our great enemy. . . .

Not only will we carry out our missions for countless days but we will fight the ship, as well. My fear is that we will be a target for so long. The law of averages might catch up with us. Our safety depends on TF 58.[8] Not only will they be the offensive force against the Japanese, but also TF 58 will protect the beachhead and the anchorage until land-based air can be flown in to operate from the captured fields.

March 24 was a dreary day. Now that an American radio station is at hand, we listen to Tokyo Rose and compare her version of events with ours. Amazingly first-class mail arrived, a real morale booster! . . .

The mess boys called me at 0700, and after breakfast I boarded one of our boats for the long ride to the other side of the Ulithi Atoll and the final meeting of the COs of the ships in the convoy. Operation Iceberg, code name of the Okinawa invasion, will be one of the toughest in history. Preparations have been made, plans drawn and distributed. Many questions remain, but some of the details are flexible so that changes may be made. The commodore cautioned us to be ready for anything. . . . Hundreds of ships and thousands of men will be directed at the Japanese. The objective is to secure land, sea, and air bases to further cut off shipping access to the China Sea and prepare for the invasion of the homeland.

[6] General Quarters: All hands man your battle stations.

[7] Guard mail was official mail delivered between the ships.

[8] Task Force 58 (TF 58) consisted of aircraft carriers, modern battleships, cruisers, and destroyers. The official title was Fast Carrier Force Pacific Fleet.

LST 677 *in convoy to Ulithi. (Author's collection.)*

The *LST(M) 677*[9] will operate independently at the target with Admiral Turner's staff overseeing us. By mid-afternoon the special sea detail was set. On signal by the commodore the ships were underway. Anchored well south in the atoll, we steamed at full speed to move into our correct station in the convoy at the proper time. At last the *677* was underway for the final run to the target. In spite of poor visibility, aircraft from Admiral C. T. Durgin's jeep carriers[10] guarded us from above.

The *677* was assigned to the Charlie section of the Northern Tractor Flotilla for convoy purposes. The flotilla was made up of groups Able, Baker, and Charlie, with each of these groups divided into two units. The groups were spaced ten miles apart. The LSTs were dispersed in four columns with standard interval five hundred yards and distance four hundred yards. The center columns were flanked by support vessels, LCI(M)s, LCI(G)s, LCI(R)s and LCSs.[11] Disposed in a cruising for-

[9] *LST 677* was renamed to *LST 677 (M)*—M being "mother." These converted LSTs provided logistical support to the smaller landing craft and patrol vessels.

[10] Jeep carriers were small escort carriers, which carried fewer planes than the large fleet carriers and whose primary purpose was to provide support to the ground troops. In the Atlantic they provided air cover to convoys and thus were called escort carriers. Many were built on merchant ship hulls.

[11] LCI meant Landing Craft Infantry. These small landing ships carried a company or more of troops and had two ramps, one on either side of the bow. When they got close to the beach, they dropped the ramps and the troops rushed ashore. LCIs, like many ships, were modified for various purposes. Ms carried heavy mortars for fire support of the landing force. Gs were gunboats and usually carried numerous 20mm and 40mm (millimeter) guns to support the troops and to provide anti-aircraft gunfire. Rs were rocket ships. They carried multiple racks of rocket launchers that were

mation of eight columns, Charlie was commanded by Captain Ethelbert Watts in *LC(FF) 786.*[12] The *677* was the last ship in the starboard column of LSTs.

The Northern Tractor Flotilla consisted of 125 ships, including forty-seven LSTs, fifteen LSMs, thirty-four LCI types, two LC(FF)s, and a tug, a net tender and twenty-three escorts.[13] Spread out on the ocean as far as the eye could see, the group was an awesome display of naval amphibious power. As the convoy prepared to depart the Ulithi lagoon, the skies darkened, a driving rain fell, and the wind increased steadily until night when the waves reached twenty feet in height. Indeed, the convoy bucked strong head winds, rough seas, and heavy rains until the last day. Moderate gales rolled the support craft up to forty-five degrees. With their flat bottoms the LSTs, too, had a rough go of it. Standing watch was uncomfortable, cold, and wet. Cooks could not prepare meals. Sandwiches, therefore, became a popular item on ships' menus. Navigators plotted sun lines but no star sights.

Inclement weather cancelled dawn GQ on the twenty-sixth as the wind increased throughout the morning. The rain squalls lowered visibility. OODs[14] relied more on their radar operators for keeping their stations within the convoy. For many, this was the roughest weather they had ever experienced. LCVPs broke loose from their lashings. To secure them properly the *677(M)* broke off from the convoy and headed into the sea where the roll was less pronounced. With difficulty shackles were replaced, additional lines doubled, speed increased, course changed, and we rejoined the convoy. To the delight of all, just before dark a SC[15] came alongside with sacks of mail. The 110-footer took quite a beating from the high seas as she delivered the most important gift of all—a letter from home. Officers and crew had found their entertainment for this night.

The ship steams on the outer fringes of a tropical storm, which could reach typhoon proportions. The rain pours down intermittently as the winds and seas increase. Most of the twenty-seventh was spent on the conn[16] where anxious eyes looked to the sky for a possible change in the weather. As the afternoon wore on, the winds mounted steadily. From time to time the commodore changed course in

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fired at the invasion beaches to soften up the landing area. LCSs were Landing Craft Support, also essentially gunboats for close fire support to the beaches.

[12] Converted LCIs made into flagships that carried the commander of small ship/boat groups.

[13] The tug was a fleet tug boat, much larger than harbor tugs. Net tenders were small ships that maintained the nets used to close off harbor areas. (The nets prevented submarines from getting into the harbor.) Escorts were small patrol craft and destroyers.

[14] Officers of the Deck.

[15] Sub Chaser, a small patrol craft used for escorting convoys and patrolling.

[16] Two nautical terms are having the deck and having the conn. The Officer of the Deck essentially was in charge of the ship. All orders came from him. He was in charge. Having the conn means that you are the one who gives the orders to the helmsman regarding ship direction and speed. The conning officer reported to the OOD. Of course the Commanding Officer was ultimately responsible. Conn is also used later as a place, e.g., "From the conn I could see . . ."]

an effort to ease the roll of these flat-bottomed ships. The *677(M)* continues to turn, twist, slap, and roll. Trying to write a few lines this night I have secured myself to the desk chair. The transients fear the ship's convolutions. She seems to put her bow in a wave, shudder, and hangs on and then hits the next wave.

Radio reports are brief and make only slight mention of our forces bombarding the Kerama Rhettos, the islands to the west of Okinawa, and the landing there yesterday. Doubtless the Japanese know about the Okinawa operation but are sketchy about the details. Although the Allied communiqués make no mention of it, the Japanese finally admitted the invasion. Conflicting news sifts through. Listening to the American and Japanese reports, it is difficult to realize it is the same war. Not only was the sea rough in the evening, but the visibility was poor. No dusk GQ was called. We have found that GQ is an excellent way to square away the vessel from night steaming. The ship is buttoned up, the night watches begin, and the men not on watch go below for rest until they are called.

During the early morning of the twenty-eighth the waves reached twenty-five feet, while the wind blew a steady 40–50 knots. We have been blown off course by the storm, and the base course was changed. Some corners were cut in order to make a rendezvous point on time. I spent most of the night on the conn watching the rain come down. Dawn brought no noticeable change. Still the American radio fails to mention Kerama except to say that the fleet bombarded the islands. The Tokyo radio reports our losses and insists one attack was repulsed on the twenty-fifth. Tokyo Rose, however, admitted landings were made on the twenty-sixth.

In the evening the Northern Tractor Group was warned that a typhoon three hundred miles away was bearing down on the group. Once again all lashings were checked, while navigators, quartermasters, and officers on watch gathered in the chart room. With parallel rulers, pencils, charts, and Knight's "Modern Seamanship," we plotted the storm's path and the estimated strike time. Outside, the wind howled, the waves piled one upon the other, and the ship rolled, pitched, and tossed as green water broke over the bow. Fortunately, during the night the storm veered and we were spared its full fury.

Around 0100 on the twenty-ninth, as the ship rolled on her beam's end, the gyro and all auxiliary power went out. But for the prompt action of the engine room, the ship would have been in the trough of the sea and in danger of capsizing. Except for the occasional rain showers, visibility improved, and toward morning the waves flattened out. The sky remains hazy. Even with prospects of clearing weather, we continue to receive reports of the storm's position. By late afternoon, however, the storm changed course. Plotting all the data and taking cognizance of time and distance, we decided that the full brunt of the storm should hit us. All hands turned and checked the gear again. As darkness fell the waves mounted, the wind increased, and a hard steady rain fell.

About 0300 on the thirtieth the commodore ordered the *677(M)* to take in tow

a SC with engine trouble somewhere astern of the convoy. The crew broke out the towing gear and all searched for the disabled vessel. Shortly, another message informed us a salvage tug was en route and we were, at best possible speed, to return to the convoy. This was poor decision-making by the commodore's staff. I was surprised when they called us in the first place when all knew a salvage vessel was in the convoy. It was 0630 and the wind and sea continued as before. We were far astern of the convoy.

. . .

As the convoy neared Okinawa on the thirty-first, the American radio mentioned that Kerama was under bombardment. On the twenty-eighth, Tokyo Rose claimed that thirty-one ships had been sunk or damaged off Kerama. She also announced that Okinawa defenders were expecting Admiral Turner's force and were prepared for any trick he might have. Expounding on the Japanese victories, she lashed out at the barbarian qualities of America's bombing of civilians.

On the thirty-first the sea calmed, the clouds lifted, and the sun spread its rays. Over the radio, the bombardment vessels' guns could be heard pounding the Hagushi beaches. Overhead planes from jeep carriers watched and waited in a sky completely free of the enemy. The blanket of air power, as well as the improved weather, lifted our spirits. The sight of a procession of American ships on the horizon made a lasting impression on all. Below the horizon large convoys churned toward the Okinawa beachhead. In the evening destroyers appeared hull down to disappear in the gathering dusk. The oncoming armada was a remarkable display of power and organization.

Just before sunset we sighted the southern tip of Okinawa thirteen miles away. As the convoy units closed up, large fires outlined the island. One cannot imagine being as near to such a highly prized Japanese possession and not being fired upon. It stretches the mind! All are relieved that no enemy have appeared. Deep down, the men want to participate. After the many hours of training at the guns, it is natural they want to try their skills. Although outwardly calm, the officers and men are wrestling with one thought—the dreaded kamikaze. The effect of such a hit was brought home vividly when all personnel caught sight of the battered *Franklin*[17] as she limped into Ulithi, a victim of the furious March 19 attack on TF 58 and the carriers. Personally, I am rather tense. Having the responsibility of the men and the ship is awesome. Few in the high command, or even in the unit, division, or flotilla, know of our mission. The *LST 677(M)* is a different breed. I have a gnawing in the pit of my stomach thinking about what lies ahead. I am not afraid, but there is an uncertainty about it and exactly what part we are to play the first day is unclear.

The ship is blacked out and we are at GQ. We will remain in this fighting con-

[17] U.S.S. *Franklin* was an aircraft carrier that was hit by kamikazes and severely damaged. The damage control techniques that saved her were taught to naval officers for many years after 1945.

dition throughout the night. So the crew will not be exhausted, the Exec[18] will rest the watch as much as possible. Under such a condition of readiness the crew will get some sleep. Blankets were issued and the cooks and bakers were instructed to bring plenty of sandwiches and hot drinks to all. From the bridge we look out over the darkened shapes of the ships of the convoy. While seeming to stand still, we are moving at almost top speed as our group overhauls those ahead. The LST just forward exhibits a tiny shielded stern light that is visible to the OOD. Ahead, too, the churning propeller spews out a wake that shows light until we pass.

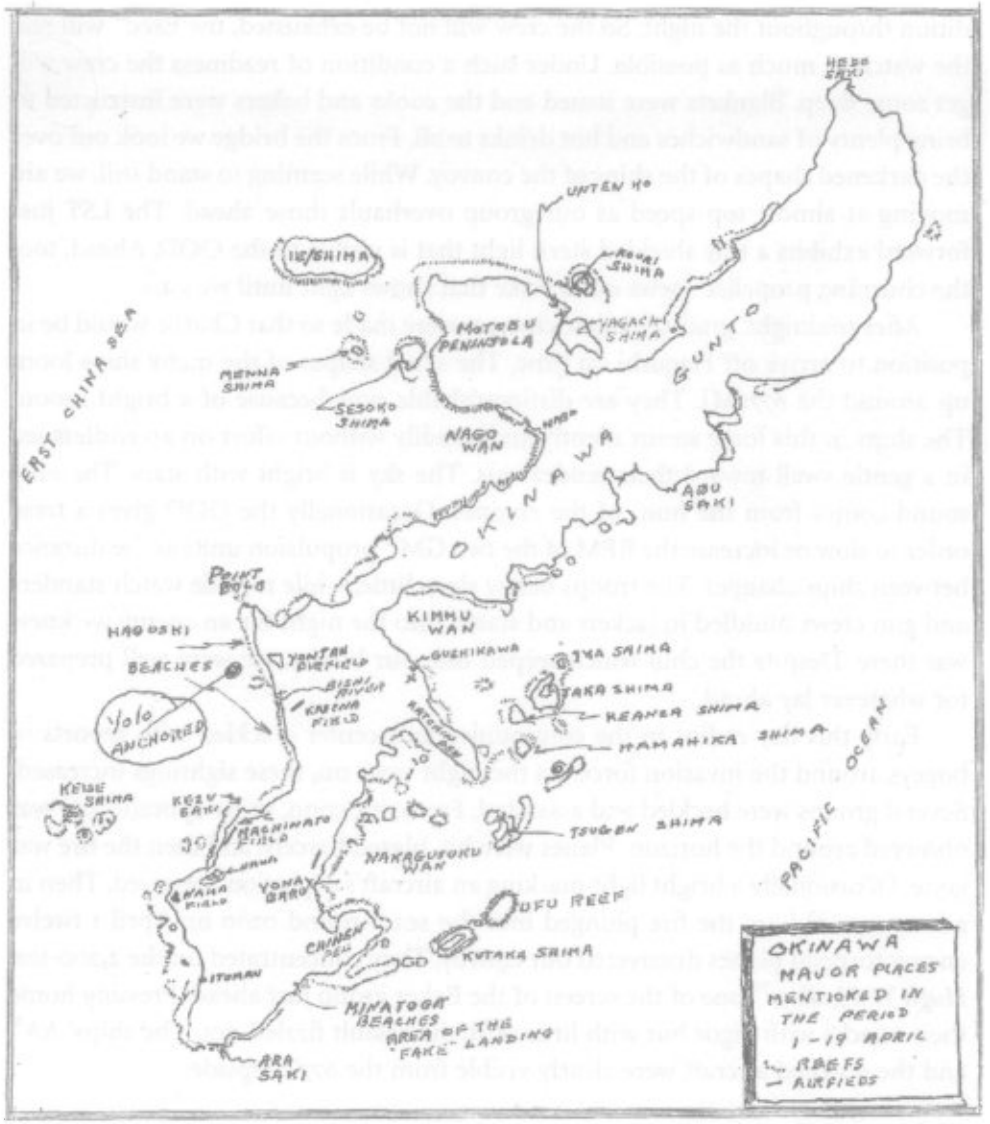
After midnight, gradual course changes were made so that Charlie would be in position to arrive off Hagushi on time. The silent shapes of the many ships loom up around the *677(M)*. They are distinguishable now because of a bright moon. The ships in this force steam silently and steadily without effort on an endless sea in a gentle swell toward their rendezvous. The sky is bright with stars. The only sound comes from the hum of the engines. Occasionally the OOD gives a terse order to slow or increase the RPM of the two GM[19] propulsion units as the distance between ships changes. The troops below sleep little, while topside watch standers and gun crews huddled in jackets and stared into the night for an enemy we knew was there. Despite the chill which seeped into our bodies, we were well prepared for whatever lay ahead.

Early this day radios in the communications center crackled with reports of bogeys around the invasion force. As the night wore on, these sightings increased. Several groups were heckled and assaulted. From our conn, ships' sporadic fire was observed around the horizon. Planes were hit, blazed fiercely, and then the fire was gone. Occasionally a bright light marking an aircraft's explosion appeared. Then in a long graceful arc the fire plunged into the sea. Around 0200 on April 1 twelve enemy torpedo planes discovered our convoy. They concentrated on the 2,200-ton *Hugh W. Hadley*,[20] one of the screen of the Baker group just ahead. Pressing home their attacks with vigor but with little skill, the assault fizzled out. The ships' AA[21] and the downed aircraft were clearly visible from the *677*'s topside.

Okinawa—The First Days

Our three-group convoy steamed west of Kerama during the night and then turned eastward toward the Hagushi beaches. Arriving at their unloading zones between 0540 and 0605, ships of the Northern Attack Group changed from a four-column front into two columns for easier maneuvering. It was Easter Day, April Fool's Day and "L" Day, all rolled into one. The weather was perfect. The sea was calm with just a moderate swell. Most of the tractors in our convoy anchored by their stern in

[18] Executive officer, second in command to the captain.
[19] The engines were made by General Motors.
[20] A destroyer.
[21] Anti-aircraft fire.



Map of Okinawa, drawn by the author.

designated areas off the beach. By 0725 LSTs with LVT(A)s and LVTs[22] on board had these special craft in the water in 10–19 minutes, excellent launching time under the conditions. At 0800 the gunboats, rocket and mortar craft from 3,500 yards advanced in line abreast, hammering the beach with their weapons about the same time the amphibian tanks flowed over the reef and on to shore. In wave after wave

[22] LVTs, or Landing Vehicle Tracked, were also called amtracks, amphibious tractors such as those the marines use today. They were tracked vehicles that carried ten or twelve men, launched

with their 75mm howitzers firing on targets of opportunity, these water tanks rumbled ahead. It was a sight that all who observed the spectacle unfold will never forget. Although part of that unbroken eight-mile line could not be seen by those on *677(M)* steaming several miles off shore, the remarkable precision of the landing was not lost on us. Meanwhile, off shore Admiral "Mort" Deyo's bombardment group, the old ships too slow for the TF 58, unleashed upon the Japanese a mighty barrage that rolled and thundered across the water. Huge puffs of smoke like some giant blowing rings marked the fire from the guns of six battleships, four cruisers, and six destroyers. It was a thrilling sight to see as it went on hour after hour.

Except for the admonition to stay out of harm's way, the *677* with no other orders steamed slowly some miles off the northern beaches and watched the spectacle unfold. Meanwhile, in those hours before dawn as preparations were made for the approach, mess cooks served us hot coffee and sandwiches. Not only were the hunger pangs satisfied, but also the food and drink helped the men remain alert in this intense cold. After sunrise and while steaming off shore, the cooks prepared a breakfast of steak and eggs, buns, biscuits, freshly baked bread, butter, jam, and coffee. . . . There were well deserved congratulations all around. I called the cooks and bakers to the bridge and added my praise. An accolade or two helps shipboard morale. I work constantly to maintain my crew's spirit at a high level.

We could see there was no opposition ashore and only American aircraft overhead. Indeed, it was an easy landing; casualties were light and men and materiel poured ashore. By the day's end thousands of Marines and Army troops had negotiated the reef, captured the two airfields, and set up fortifications on land. At Hagushi sunset was 1845 with moonrise at 2147. American policy was to withdraw nightly ships not engaged in unloading or duties tying them to the anchorage. The movement to sea removed the vulnerable soft shipping from the likelihood of air attack and made ships more difficult to locate. Smokers, too, were underway to reach their stations. COs, too, were anxious to depart the roadstead for the open sea.

Maneuvering was difficult and smart ship handling was necessary as the vessels positioned themselves to withdraw to the southeast to escape the night raids. Visibility was good and the sea was smooth. The *677(M)* joined one of the many individual convoys and retired with several escorts and numerous LSTs. Before we reached the channel between Maye Shima and Keise Shima at 1909, seven kamikazes carried out a brief but spectacular attack on shipping in the area. In a space of three minutes the *West Virginia*[23] and transport *Alpine* were hit, while the *LST 557* and transport *Elmore* were near-missed. It was the first assault we had seen all day.

Around midnight we reached the end of the scheduled withdrawal route and the convoy, of which we were a part, retraced its outgoing route. No attacks devel-

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from transports and large landing craft, and made their way to the beach. On the beach they crawled up the shore and moved inland, providing some protection for the troops.

[23] An older battleship that first saw service in 1924.

oped in our group, but in several other retirement convoys enemy assaults were made. At 0043 cargo vessel *Achernar* was bombed and crashed by a kamikaze, and minelayer *Adams* on patrol was also hit from the air. Remaining at GQ all night, the crews alternated sleeping at their guns. The heaviest attack thus far developed shortly after dawn when most of the retirement groups were within sight of the beaches. AA was heavy and particularly bright against a star-filled sky to the east. At 0550 a Nick[24] thundered in on cargo vessel *Tyrrell* returning from retirement. The strafing enemy sheared off several antennas, brushed the mast and the starboard boom, and then after missing the stern, plunged into the sea. About the same time an enemy off our port side flew toward us and a destroyer steaming slowly nearby. When within range, both ships fired. . . . Suddenly the aircraft turned as the pilot tried to suicide. He miscalculated, . . . a flash, flame and smoke, and then the plane disappeared in the sea, as much a victim of our ship's guns as any vessel that fired.

Our gun crews handled the affair like real professionals. Those hours spent at gunnery schools paid off. . . . all of us jumped around like kids. We had our first enemy! There was no thought of the man just killed! The officers and men stood the test and were not found lacking. I am proud of my boys who are now "Men."

Closing the beach, we anchored in an assigned spot, one half mile off shore and due west of Yontan.[25] From here we have a clear view of the anchorage and the shore line as far south as the Bishi Gawa.[26] As Yontan is within sight, the ship's personnel can observe the activities on the field.

By 1313 on the second, the *677(M)* was prepared to carry out her mission to dispense water, fresh, frozen, and dry stores to all small craft. . . . Articles were passed from the tank deck, up the ladder to the main deck and over the side to the vessel waiting. A wooden chute was used when the serviced vessel was well below our main deck. The breakouts[27] from within and atop the tank deck reefers[28] proved to be a back-breaking task.

The first vessel alongside was a 173-foot PC, a sub-chaser. It was followed in turn by sweeps and all types of support craft. Ships were alongside the *677(M)*'s port side three deep. . . .

Off Okinawa the *677(M)* was headquarters for Boat Pool Baker, the Smoke Control Group, and the Northern Security Patrol. We berthed and messed the crews of small boats. As water transportation was hard to come by, those with excess boats shared as much as we could. Boats from departing transports were turned over to our boat pool. Pontoon barges and even smoke boat LCVPs were used for

[24] Allied forces nick-named Japanese planes. A Nick was a land-based army fighter.
[25] Yontan was the airfield just inland from the invasion beaches; it was captured the first day.
[26] A small river in the invasion area.
[27] A term used for the food items that are stored away and sailors have to "break it out" to get to it.
[28] Reefers are refrigeration units that kept the perishable food items.

transportation. Fitted with smoke pots or generators, these LCVPs assisted in covering the anchorage during periods when all ships made smoke.

The heckling around Hagushi commenced in earnest around 0100 on the third. Between then and 0637 four alerts kept all hands busy. Sixty enemy aircraft approached the area from the north and southwest. At 0108 the ship went to GQ. Wind conditions were ideal. The smoke which blanketed the area gave us excellent coverage. At 0242, only a few hundred feet astern, an enemy with machine guns blazing dropped out of the smoke. Passing over the ship at masthead height, the pilot was plainly visible. After disappearing briefly, the plane reappeared moments later and exploded on the starboard quarter. The incident unfolded so rapidly the ship's guns did not fire. Through holes in the smoke we could see fires and hear explosions on shore. Flares and star shells floated over the island, while heavy ships to the south kept up a continuous bombardment.

By sunrise with the All Clear we were exhausted. Following an excellent breakfast that lifted our spirits, all hands turned to their work. . . . Vessels began coming alongside at 0800. A surprise awaited them. The bakers outdid themselves during the night. The *677* shared her bounty of fresh baked rolls, bread, and pies with those crews. Were they ever grateful!

With more LSMs, LCTs, LCMs, and LCVPs available, the flow of materials and vehicles moving shoreward increased dramatically. Unloading was in high gear. Boats were everywhere. The sound of the diesels of the LCMs and the LCVPs were broken only by the hum and purr of the pontoon barges and the more throaty roar of the LCTs and LSMs as they, too, drove beachward to discharge and return for more cargo. . . . The procession continued hour after hour. As darkness fell, lights blazed on shore and on unloading vessels. The big amphibians . . . put their ramps on the reef and disgorged their cargo.

Some LSTs carried pontoon barges secured to their sides. At the target they were launched and assembled. Our mission is to care for these crews, if they wish. A pontoon barge is 22 by 52 feet. Powered by a single engine, they are slow and hard to control in high seas and strong winds. Hastily constructed shelters of canvas and two-by-fours protect their five-man crews from the elements. These men are an independent bunch!

During the afternoon word was passed that night retirement was discontinued for Hagushi ships. All vessels were to rely on smoke for concealment and protection. It added up to more work for our smoke boats. The decision was reached because of the losses of Transron 17,[29] hits on other vessels during withdrawal, the numerous escorts needed to screen the retirement groups, and the complications of leaving the anchorage and joining the specific retirement convoy each evening. At sundown some thirty enemy attacked the ships off the island. Again the pickets,

[29] Transport Squadron 17. Individual ships were grouped into squadrons.

TF 58's planes, and ships on patrol accounted for most of the enemy downed. At the Hagushi anchorage smoke was made and ships went to GQ, where they remained all night even through no enemy flew over.

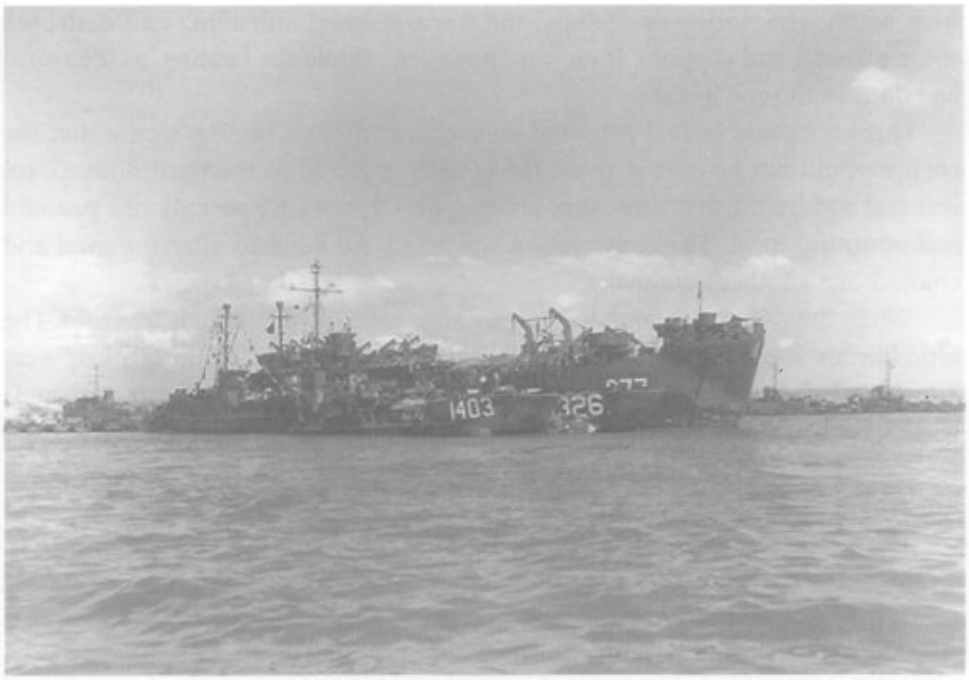
The reef is our great enemy. Here a coral reef stands off the beach. Unable to move over it even at high tide, the amphibians place their bows on it and send their vehicles ashore. From day one the Under Water Demolition teams (UDT) have slowly reduced the reef's adverse effect. In place opposite where we are anchored is RED 1, a pier made up of three sets of pontoon causeways in place. An unloading platform was made by lashing these pontoons side by side on their longitudinal ends in the shape of an "L." The dock was ideal for disembarking smaller craft. This pier had a single line approach and a 45 by 175 foot head. Several of these were built on the northern beaches. To expedite loading on the southern beaches earth-filled ramps were constructed across the reef on several of the beaches.

On the clear morning of the fourth, hundreds of vessels swing at anchor. Ships are visible as far as the eye can see, with small craft by the hundreds running to and from the large ships to shore. . . .

The rumble of guns is constant, while all around us unloading goes on. By late morning a storm blew in bringing with it rough seas, high winds, and strong tides. Visibility decreased. The storm reduced a rather orderly harbor and a line of neatly beached amphibians into a confused group. Though warned about the worsening weather, many COs failed to grasp the urgency of the messages. Fortunately the *677* was prepared. As soon as the first message was received, I ordered our boats brought aboard, all topside gear secured, more anchor chain let out and a full bridge and engineering watch set so that we might get underway quickly. I suggested those small boats just assigned us as smoke boats seek shelter in the Bishi Gawa.

By 2300 I was aware that the wind had freshened and was blowing a steady twenty-seven knots, gusting to thirty-five and kicking up a rough sea. The anchor held nicely but the ship yawed noticeably. Around us other vessels swung wildly. We used our engines to minimize the anchor strain. The rain came down in sheets; the wind howled and shrieked as it tried to tear away the Quonset huts. Salt spray covered most of the deck including the oil skins of men on watch. Radios crackled with reports of damage to broached vessels. The scene at the Bay of Okinawa was bedlam. Ships dragged anchor. Bumps, scrapings, and near misses occurred. LSTs and LSMs broke loose from the reef and rammed other vessels. Ship handling in a crowded roadstead became more trying in a sea that was running from six to ten feet. Risky conditions existed on the reef where some suffered varying degrees of damage. Pontoon barges, causeways and landing craft drifted from their moorings onto the reef and into other vessels. Cries for help from the disabled jammed our radio circuits, while tugs tried to respond to the inundation of calls.

First light on the fifth brought more of the same. Wind and rain and the rough seas caused manila lines to snap. Meanwhile, early in the morning all ships were warned



LST 677 *(M) anchored off Yontan Airfield at Okinawa supplying the smaller vessels. Note vessels in background waiting to come alongside. (Author's collection.)*

to expect heavy air attacks. To meet the afternoon assault the heavy ships steamed five thousand yards west of Point Bolo on north and south courses. Before dark with no attacks the AA defense line disbanded and the wind and surf moderated.

As a result of the storm twenty-five small landing craft were destroyed as they smashed against the sharp coral reef or collided with other craft. Seven LSMs and twenty-six LSTs were damaged in varying degrees. The havoc wrecked on the amphibians was due not only to the violent weather, but also to the heavy cargo on board. Outside of the ship damage, unloading slowed and even ceased for about thirty-six hours.

Blame, if any, for the damage should be spread around. The inexperience of the reserve officers and crew, the unreliable meteorological data, the wording of warning messages, the jam-packed anchorage; all were responsible to some degree for the losses. With little information on foul weather doctrine, many had only an elementary knowledge of what procedure to follow, or indeed, what to do. Weather reporting was in its infancy and typhoons even played havoc with the fleet occasionally. Weather warnings went to all commands, but the dispatches lacked forcefulness and urgency. The numbers of ships at Hagushi forced the Harbor Master to reduce the size of a vessel's anchorage. Thus the ships failed to let out sufficient chain to hold in a blow in a deep water roadstead open to wind and sea from the

west, south, and northwest. Ashore, the storm delayed unloading and destroyed some material and supplies. It did not, however, cripple the landing, as the storm had done in Europe in 1944.

Our cooks and bakers prepared an excellent dinner. Feeling secure that the enemy would not be over at dusk, the officers gathered in the wardroom. Grace was said and for the first time since arriving off Okinawa we partook of a peaceful and bountiful meal. The conversation was good. All lingered after the meal and enjoyed one another's company.

When the call to GQ sounded shortly after 0100 on the sixth, it was cold. The artic-like air was a parting reminder of a difficult two days. Again blankets were distributed while those on watch were supplied with hot coffee, chocolate, and sandwiches. We had received warnings that a strong force of enemy aircraft from Kyushu was expected to attack during the day, and crews were on edge, but no attack at Hagushi developed this night.

The weather by dawn was good enough so that unloading began with increased momentum. The guns of the bombardment ships sounded like thunder rolling across the sky. Overhead American fighters began their vigil. The *677* supplied ship after ship as they came alongside for their supplies. Shortly after noon reports circulated that the Japanese were attacking the ships of TF 58. We were stunned! Tension mounted. Lookouts strained to see whether the enemy had closed Hagushi. Swirling radars searched the sky. Many vessels were powder kegs that if blown would cause considerable damage. Hundreds of gun crews nervously checked their ammunition and firing mechanisms and waited. With air battles raging to the north and east of Ie Shima,[30] it was natural that the enemy would break into the anchorage. Hagushi ships were prime targets.

By 1600 the sky was overcast with a ceiling of three thousand feet, a day made for kamikazes. Around 1605 a succession of enemy from the north broke through the protective screen of fighters into the Hagushi air space. The Japanese were met by a withering hail of AA that illuminated the sky. Under a thunderous barrage that lasted intermittently the remainder of the afternoon, planes were hit and spun into the sea. Geysers of water gushed skyward. Sometimes the aircraft burned. At other times planes skidded across the water bouncing crazily before exploding in a blinding flash. Parts of Japanese planes and their pilots were sprayed indiscriminately over the ships. Although not under attack constantly, ships at Hagushi were heckled, assaulted, and bombed for over four hours. We listened to the fighter circuits, which carried the excited voices of the pilots as they dueled with the enemy. Summations of hits filtered down from the radio shack.

By 1711 action off Hagushi was almost continuous. In one instance a low flying

[30] Ie Shima is an island to the west of Okinawa. It is where well-known journalist Ernie Pyle was killed.

Val[31] dropped a bomb on shore and turned toward the ships unloading near the *677(M)*. Our gunners fired when the plane was three thousand feet away. In spite of the intense AA, the Val bored in until it was three hundred yards away. Then the plane's port wing fell off. Catching fire, the enemy blew up and in pieces disappeared. Several minutes later we took another Val to the north at three thousand feet under fire. He crashed into the sea as much a victim of our guns as those of others firing at the aircraft.

By 1741 the Battle of Hagushi was over. In all, no more than twenty enemies were downed here. Credit for our excellent defense must be given to the ships' gunners as they blackened the sky with flak and refused to allow the kamikaze to score. Standing toe to toe with the enemy, ships' gunners held the pilots at bay. The scrap at the anchorage was marvelous to behold and dazzling to watch. Whether the kamikazes attacked in a long glide or a screaming dive from high above made little difference to the gunners who caused the planes to miss. With the battle over, silence fell over the anchorage as the watch hurried to strike colors. On the *677* the water lapping against the ship's side was the only sound the men on watch could hear. Without much success the enemy tried and failed to hit the soft shipping at Hagushi. They botched this objective, but Kikusui[32] was successful elsewhere.

The Japanese unleashed a two-pronged assault against TF 58, as well as the entire Allied naval force off Okinawa. Up to 1,500 Japanese aircraft fought the carriers and their pilots. Then they tried to hit the picket destroyers, the transports, and the ships of Hagushi. . . . Some one thousand or more planes participated in the battle this day. Kikusui I was the most significant of the ten Kikusuis launched between April 6 and June 22. Hurling a massive air assault against the Americans, the Japanese banzai charge succeeded in a six-hour period in either sinking or damaging nineteen vessels. Four more ships were hit on the seventh. These attacks cost the Americans 485 dead and 582 wounded. Corsairs and Hellcats downed many of the enemy, but it was not enough. Outstanding performances by our pilots were evident. Special recognition must also go to the picket crews who in the face of overwhelming odds halted the strongest Japanese air assault ever launched in the Pacific. Brilliant seamanship, and accurate and heavy AA also helped beat back the assaults.

Throughout, the Japanese displayed a masterful sense of timing. After misjudging the fleet strength on the sixth, the enemy recovered and sent staggered waves of aircraft to Okinawa. They pounded the pickets unmercifully at twilight, went after Deyo's[33] force in the late afternoon, and stumbled as they attacked

[31] Japanese Navy dive bomber.

[32] There were ten massed kamikaze attacks to which the Japanese gave the name kikusui, "floating chrysanthemums."

[33] Admiral Deyo, mentioned briefly earlier, was commander of the old battleships that were used as gunfire support to the troops. This was TF 54 Gunfire and Covering Force.

Hagushi's soft shipping. So intense was the air assault, it became virtually impossible for the Americans to maintain adequate CAPs.[34] We just ran out of fighters.

With all hands at GQ between 0325 and 0900 on the seventh, ships at the roadsteads were heckled by planes in small groups. At 0414 an enemy crashed about two miles from the *677*. Topside it was cold and windy. Even with coats and life jackets, gun crews huddled under blankets. On board, the coffee was hot, while the freshly made pastries were tasty and the sandwiches delicious. Smoke poured from the ships' generators, glowing red in the early light, but the wind so dissipated the fog, it had little covering effect. Even the efforts of the smoke boats fell short, as they, too, spewed out more mixture to cover their assigned vessels. The monotonous drone of the diesels merged with the steady, hump-hump of the 5"/38s[35] and the staccato bark of the 20 and 40mms as they punched the air. Streams of shells and tracers arched toward real and imagined targets. Flares floated down on the anchorage, denying the ships a place to hide.

Four fighter groups, consisting of ninety-six Corsairs and fifteen Hellcat night fighters, landed at Yontan on the seventh. This was certainly a good start toward the time when sufficient land-based aircraft would relieve TF 58. Assistance had at last arrived for the weary pilots of the TF 58. Patrols by the Marines were assigned when the aircraft landed. Indeed, a twelve-plane CAP was flown on the seventh. These land-based planes would eventually make Okinawa an unsinkable carrier.

It is difficult to understand what is happening in other areas. Ships come and go. The heavies move in and out each morning and evening. Overhead, planes engage an enemy attempting to penetrate Hagushi's air space. Until today there has been little air activity at Yontan, one mile from our anchorage. In the distance, the boom and crackle of gun fire is always present. Our signalmen learn about the activity on the picket line and what the sweeps are up to. SOPA,[36] through the flash and control system, indicates the condition of readiness to all vessels at Hagushi. Now that the weather has cleared, the traffic on and off the beach has increased. Fewer ships are here, but hundreds are still present.

On board the *677(M)* provisioning begins early. Despite using our six LCVPs as tugs for bringing an assortment of vessels alongside, they tear up scuppers, ladders, booms, fenders, and sides. Wind, high seas, the tide, and inexperience in ship handling all play a part in the damage. We sent a message to Turner requesting fuel. Shortly thereafter an LST, bound for the rear area, came alongside to give us her surplus. We have had great cooperation from the command ship. They know we are doing an excellent job.

This day, in a timely and determined onslaught, the kamikazes and their es-

[34] Combat Air Patrol. Aircraft positioned near the ships to provide protection against air attack.

[35] These were five-inch guns, i.e., the diameter of the barrel was five inches.

[36] Senior Officer Present Afloat. The senior officer of the group of ships. Even if there were only two ships, one captain is senior and he would be SOPA.

corts threw themselves against the TF 58 carriers, who were bereft of 180 fighters they had sent to escort the planes attacking the *Yamato*.[37] Japanese ship losses took place only on the seventh, when six vessels, including *Yamato,* were sunk. Not only was Japanese naval power completely eliminated, but the Empire also suffered severe losses in pilots. Yet when we saw the battered American ships limp into Hagushi, talk of this being a Pyrrhic victory at best made the rounds. All knew that the Japanese were on Okinawa to fight to the end. Despite our losses in ships, Kikusui and its sea raiding partner, the *Yamato* group, were hard-hit in a momentous air and sea battle that raged from the Sakishimas in the south to the Bungo Straits to the north. Hundreds of aircraft, ships, and men were involved in a struggle that temporarily exhausted both sides. Losses were high; the Japanese in pilots and planes; our navy in ships. . . .

April 9 was the day of the "Shinyo" suicide boats. While we were not involved, these boats under cover of darkness in the early morning hit several vessels off the beaches before their attacks fizzled out. More important to us was the arrival of another 111 aircraft at Kadena. It was a spectacular and welcome sight as well as an uplifting day for all. No longer will the pilots of TF 58 bear the brunt of the operation. Help will now come from Taffy.[38] Ugaki was aware that their presence posed a threat to the Japanese flying over that sound.

The far-off boom of the guns splits the air; smoke and flames from the fires they set glow red at night; dust from the constant activity on the beach rises like a cloud from a marching army, while trucks hurry back and forth from the depots. By mid-afternoon the weather deteriorated. Landing craft were directed to retract because of the predicted thirty-knot wind. All took precautions against dragging and broaching. Ships made preparations to get underway. One of our boats moored astern snapped a line and drifted away in the gathering dusk before we could bring it aboard. Another LCVP was lowered, and that crew caught the errant boat and returned it to be hoisted in its davit.

Very early and in spite of the weather on the ninth we provisioned vessels from the port side. Traffic was heavy, and hovering about the *677* were twenty-four additional smoke boats with their two-man crews. By mid-morning the wind was blowing a sustained 25–30 knots with heavy showers, high seas, and rough surf. As the wind intensified the ship's roll increased. Chain was veered[39] and boats were hoisted. The small craft calling the *677(M)* home were dispatched to the Bishi Gawa. With a

[37] *Yamato* was a Japanese battleship. It and the *Musashi* were the largest battleships in the world and carried the largest main guns. American carrier planes sank the *Musashi* at Leyte Gulf in October 1944. The *Yamato* and a small escort group were sent on a suicide mission to Okinawa to sink as many ships as possible and then to beach herself.

[38] Taffy 2, six escort carriers under the command of Rear Admiral F. B. Stump. The escort carriers were organized into groups called Taffys.

[39] Chain was let out.

sea that was too rough and swells from the north too high for the safe handling of small craft, by 1000 replenishing was out of the question and the operation ceased. Messing and berthing facilities were available to exhausted boat crews who ordinarily moor to the *677(M)*. Steaming watches were set with the bridge, engine room, and anchor manned.

Even though this blow was not as severe as the one on the fourth, it was still hard on small boats and barges. LCVPs and LCMs moored to transports bumped and smashed into one another, as well as to the ships to which they were tied. Barge anchors failed to hold, causing the craft to pound on the coral. Anchor chains parted. Pontoons punctured and barges became the number one casualty. LSTs had their share of close calls, bumpings, parted chains, and lost anchors.

For most of the eleventh, conditions for unloading were bad. The sea was rough, and swells from the north continued until 2200 when the wind shifted and died to eight knots. The weather cleared and the beach came to life. Meanwhile, Japanese pilots were informed that Tokyo expected them to continue their attacks at all costs. Admiral Matome Ugaki realized that chances of a successful assault so soon after the first Kikusui were slim. Nevertheless, he attempted to knock out the last vestige of what he thought remained of TF 58 in the afternoon of the eleventh when he sent fifty-two planes against Mitscher.[40] TF 58 took a hit and several near misses. Air battles raged over Tokuno, Kikai, and Amami.

At the time we were not aware that the massive air attack known as Kikusui II was underway. Our only indication that something big was happening occurred shortly after 1000 when five high-flying reconnaissance planes approached. We knew that TF 58 had cancelled support missions and instead put a twenty-four plane CAP over Okinawa to help the Corsairs. Then at Hagushi at 0330 on the twelfth, bogey raids were spotted. This sent our crew to battle stations. As fire opened on the high-flying planes, tracers cast their brilliant mark across the sky. Gunners tried to follow the weaving planes as they attempted to extricate themselves from the searchlights' glare. Occasionally, through the pall of smoke covering the anchorage, we heard the roar of engines as low-flying planes passed close aboard. At 0505 our gunners fired on an enemy that streaked over Yontan and toward the anchorage a half-mile from the ship. No sooner had it passed out of range, than its place was taken by a Val four thousand yards away. Fired on by the *677(M)* and others the plane plunged into the sea six thousand yards away. Morning found CAPs overhead.

The usual replenishment routine began early, but at 1100 re-supply was halted. Word came from SOPA to move south for better protection. Ship's personnel went to GQ and remained there off and on until the next morning. By the afternoon

[40] Admiral Marc Mischer was Commander Fast Carrier Force Pacific Fleet—or TF 58. He had the fast carriers and modern battleships and escorts.

word of the massed kamikaze attacks reached us. When the Japanese arrived over Hagushi, their ranks were decimated. Most raids had been intercepted. One ship, however, was hit at Hagushi. During the long afternoon we were shrouded in fog. The thick, opaque smoke proved valuable. At 1459 a twin-engine bomber flying over Yontan was downed in flames. This assault was over, but at 1905 we went to GQ again. Generators started and soon smoke poured from almost every vessel at Hagushi. Because of the sixteen-knot wind, the fog, which was full of holes, provided only minimal protection.

After dark the enemy went after the fields. In spite of the searchlights and the newly installed 90mm AA, Marine batteries were unable to hit the high-flying planes, which dropped their bombs with telling effect. At Yontan one man was wounded and fifteen Corsairs were damaged. Even though it was a temporary setback, it was a blow. Not only did it limit the number of planes for defense, it delayed the long-awaited offensive strikes against Kyushu. As the radar screens cleared, the results were tabulated. Some 186 kamikazes, 159 fighters, and forty-five bombers were deployed. Though fewer than the numbers involved in Kikusui I, the second "floating chrysanthemum" was nevertheless formidable. The Americans claimed 298 planes downed, but seventeen allied ships were damaged or sunk.

Kikusui II's defeat was at best another Pyrrhic victory. So concerned about the ship losses was Admiral Chester Nimitz[41] that much against the wishes of General Curtis Lemay,[42] he called upon the B-29s to attack the Kyushu airfields. Japanese runways, revetments, and taxiways were cratered; shops, hangars, and tools were so cut from shrapnel that aircraft maintenance became critical. The night of the thirteenth was bright with stars and comparatively quiet until 0300 when an enemy land attack got underway. Japanese heavy artillery and mortar fire erupted ashore, and nine hundred troops tried to break a part of the American front line. Six heavy ships responded with an awesome bombardment. In spite of the smoke, flashes of light flooded the sky to the south of Bishi Gawa. Bursting shells created a continuous roar so intense that the *677(M)* and others near the bombardment rocked at anchor. Star shells floated lazily over the battle lines, illuminating the sector in an eerie light. It was the heaviest ship bombardment we had seen and heard during our time here. The enemy was beaten back.

With the dawn, American fighters roamed the sky, a most assuring sight after the assaults of the two previous days. Morning, too, brought the sun, a great ball of fire slipping silently out of the sea. Good weather was here at last. The sea lapped against the side of the *677*, while small craft with wide open diesels leaped forward in an ocean without waves and with little swell. Unloading proceeded at top speed.

[41] Commander-in-Chief Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Areas.

[42] Lemay was commander of the Army Airforce's XXI Bomber Command located in the Mariana Islands.

Crews of most ships were at breakfast when word came that President Roosevelt was dead. A radioman in tattered dungarees took off his cap, saluted, and handed me a dispatch while we were at breakfast. All hands finished the meal and then went about the day's work in silence. Ships held memorial services when the official news arrived in a special bulletin from Admiral Turner. Aboard the *677*, the officers and crew expressed concern over the uncertainty of the times. Foremost in our minds was, "What will happen now? Will Truman grasp the problems? Can he handle the job?" All expressed hope in whispered tones that the new president would be a man of backbone, courage, and ability. All wished him well.

In the afternoon several officers from Admiral Turner's staff came over to observe our operations and see how they might make the job easier. After supper we went to GQ until midnight. In spite of our attempts to ease the men's burden as much as possible, we have not been completely successful. They spend a great deal of time at GQ and need sleep and rest.

With great weather, beach activity went forward on the fourteenth. The assault troops arrived from their holding areas two hundred miles to the southeast where they have been for two weeks out of harm's way. This force is scheduled to hit Ie Shima on the sixteenth. Ie is an island that must be taken for fighter strips. While the bitter land fighting goes on, the struggle at the picket stations grows more vicious. Twisted, broken, and misshapen wrecks limp back into the roadstead. Burned-out guns point drunkenly to the sky while ships' damage is evident from a distance. Their return is a triumph for both the men and ships. Because of the pickets, carrier air power, the smoke screen, and Taffy's coverage, we are relatively safe off the beaches. If the enemy manages to slip through, they are met by a thunderous barrage, not always accurate but intense. This fire tends to down an enemy testing the Hagushi skies. At night, the enemy head for Yontan and Kadena, where they are illuminated, fired at, seldom hit, and depart.

We are protected from enemy ships by the Northern Covering Group, a unit consisting at present of two cruisers and four destroyers, steaming on regular nightly patrol northwest of Bolo. Not in all twenty-one retirement nights[43] has the TF 54 been composed of such a small number of vessels. The heavies are needed as bombardment ships more than the phantom sea force. Those big ships not scheduled for fire support take their place in the Hagushi AA.[44] Off Bolo, Hagushi, and Nago Wan action began at 1839 when the Japanese heckled ships in the anchorages. Although several enemy in other sectors were downed, the assault at Hagushi and Yontan was real. Kikusui III had begun.

Meanwhile, on the fifteenth, increasing numbers of smaller vessels came along-

[43] Admiral Deyo's TF 54 Gunfire and Covering Force would be close into shore during the day then retire farther out to sea at night.

[44] The ships not scheduled to provide fire support would gather together off Hagushi under the anti-aircraft protection of the Northern Covering Group.

side as the "mother ship" issued fuel, water, and provisions, along with freshly baked bread, cakes, and pies. As soon as one vessel provisions, another sticks her bow along the starboard side to further deplete the already low store of frozen foods on board. As this is Sunday, I asked the boat pool chaplain to have services. He was busy ashore, but several officers and crew, who always do an excellent job, conducted the well-attended services. Not to be outdone, the cooks and bakers served steak for breakfast and turkey for lunch.

Word came today that the ship's designation has changed from the *677(M)* to the *Yolo (APB 43)*; the letters stand for auxiliary barracks, self-propelled. While the designation is not fancy, nevertheless to have a name is the fondest hope of every no-name ship. I had hoped that with it would come a promotion for me. . . . I need more rank so that I can talk with those staff members on the same level.

A prolonged succession of GQs began at 1820 and lasted four hours. Reported by radar sixty miles away, the Japanese were not seen visually until nineteen minutes later. Four aircraft east of Yontan closed rapidly. Under heavy AA the planes flew over the field and the beaches. As an Oscar[45] bored in at five hundred feet, *Yolo* fired. When within one thousand yards of us, the Oscar veered off along the port side as our bursts continued to hit. Passing over Yellow 2,[46] the plane emitted a puff of smoke, turned over, and, burning fiercely, plummeted into the water close aboard. Heavy AA caused the second Oscar to flame and crash several hundred yards inland. The third Oscar dropped bombs on the beach and while under intense but ineffective fire thundered toward a cargo ship. Short of its target the plane burst into flames and splashed. The fourth Oscar crashed inland. A fifth bombed the beach and disappeared. Ships' AA was distinguished more by its enthusiasm than its accuracy. Firing by some ships was so wild that deck crews took cover. One LST skipper complained bitterly about the shrapnel that "showered his ship's weather decks." By radio SOPA called the fire "scandalous."

The Hagushi assault was over, but as darkness fell, the ships remained at General Quarters. The second phase was directed at Yontan after 1915, when several planes dropped bombs west of the field, starting large fires. For two hours even though silhouetted by searchlights and fired on by radar-controlled weapons, the high-flying enemy bombed Yontan and the beach at will. At 1955 a plane dropped a string of bombs around Bolo. Another released eight bombs on Yontan. And so it went. At 2130 the last of the bombers flew over the field and let fall its string of explosives. Between bombs and friendly fire at Yontan, fifteen men were wounded, eleven Corsairs damaged, and Yontan's runways cratered. The enemy was not stopped this night. In raids averaging two to four planes, no fewer than thirteen planes flew in from the north. Five were downed by Taffy.

[45] Japanese Army fighter aircraft.
[46] The invasion beaches were divided into sectors with color code names.

On the sixteenth the sky was clear, the wind was from the east. The sea was calm. Today Ie Shima, three miles to the north and west of the Motobu Peninsula, was invaded. Not only did the support ships carry out a systematic bombardment of the island's targets, but for two weeks aircraft hit the beach. Meanwhile, the Japanese, realizing the next blow would fall on Ie, planned a strike against the ships there as a part of Kikusui III. As late as the fifteenth the Japanese believed that the first two Kikusuis had seriously weakened Turner's pickets and TF 58. Mustangs from Iwo Jima and the B-29s bombed six principal enemy fields.

In the early morning of the sixteenth the Japanese bombed Yontan again. Later we witnessed a spectacular downing when four fighters downed a bomber barely a quarter-mile away. One hundred kamikazes and their escorting fighters hit the pickets with skill, daring, and numbers. Frantically weaving, maneuvering vessels, with all guns firing, lashed the water into foam. Numbers of enemy disintegrated in flashes of fire and streaming smoke, plunged into the sea. When the assault was over, Ie was in American hands. Again Turner's losses in destroyers were heavy, but TF 58 still controlled the sea and air, and the pickets still manned their stations. Kikusui III was history! The Japanese had been defeated with heavy losses in planes and pilots. Meanwhile, in spite of the continuous GQ, a constant stream of ships came alongside *Yolo*. The men of this vessel fight the ship and provision the small craft, as well.

Yolo went to GQ at 0245 on the seventeenth, but nothing developed. Doubtless the enemy was recovering from the attacks of yesterday, for at Hagushi things were generally quiet. Mail came today! It was personal, and how the men loved it. Most of the morning was routine, except when the commander of the boat pool whom we had transported from Pearl called to complain about missing articles. We had quite a session. There is no love lost between us.

Outside of being at GQ for three hours the night of the eighteenth, little out of the ordinary happened. Enemy planes flew low over *Yolo* during the night, but the anchorage was smoked and both planes and ships were invisible. From the roar of the engines, they sounded like fighters. . . .

The weather was good with the sky partly cloudy. Visibility was excellent. The wind was from the southwest at fifteen knots. Convoys arrived and departed with regularity. . . . In the last week, *Yolo* had serviced seventy vessels, fed 2,500 meals and slept four hundred men each night. These figures are exclusive of ship's company.

By the next afternoon weather conditions had become unfavorable with the wind increasing to thirty knots. Orders came directing us to refuel from a tanker. As *Yolo* got underway a rainstorm broke. Not only did the rain come down in torrents, but the wind gusted to forty-one knots. Maneuvering to the tanker's anchorage was difficult, but coming alongside took more than just seamanship. I took three passes at the tanker before easing the ship alongside and securing. The attempt to remain moored was costly. Not only were two hawsers snapped, but also

the wire cable broke three times. By 1900 fueling was complete. All lines were cast off and we felt our way back to the anchorage in the dark.

Meanwhile, at 0540 on the nineteenth, just to the south, the bombardment ships assisted by three battleships and five destroyers from TF 58, shelled the Japanese defenses with a mighty bombardment lasting into the afternoon. Scarcely a second passed in which the roar of the big guns was not heard. *Yolo* shook from the shelling even though we were several miles from the actual firing. . . . Hundreds of bombs dropped from the sky as American planes joined the barrage. With the battle nearing the end of the third week, instead of crumbling, the Japanese have become more tenacious.

By sunset on the twentieth the sky cleared, the wind dropped to sixteen knots, and the sea smoothed. The enemy resumed their heckling at 1930 and continued until 2312. GQ sounded just as we were beginning to show our first movie in a month. All scrambled to their battle stations. On deck it was cold. At 2125 a bogey appeared at fourteen miles, and a few minutes later *Yolo* opened fire. The plane disappeared. High-flying bombers scored hits on the beach at 2238. About the same time a Hamp[47] flew directly over *Yolo* without attacking. American night fighters are up in force.

SOPA secured from GQ at 0139 on the twenty-first. After consulting with Dr. Barber, we broke out liquor and each man received a shot, if he so desired. All slept late and following lunch, had holiday routine. At 1940 small groups of bogeys were reported from four to twenty-five miles. Even though the anchorage was smoked, firing took place. The enemy dropped flares on Yontan. We remained at GQ through the night, . . . On the night of the twenty-second, a red alert sounded. Again we remained at GQ all night. The moon was so bright smoke failed to cover the ships. A destroyer was damaged and two smaller vessels sunk. Casualties were fifty-nine killed and sixty-one wounded. In spite of the alert all managed a few hours sleep.

[No attacks occurred on the night of April 23 . . .]

The sky was overcast on the twenty-fourth with the wind from the northeast; it rained most of the day, but even so our operations went on as always. After dinner the projector was set up. From some ship the signalmen secured a copy of Spencer Tracey in "Keeper of the Flame." Prospects of having an alert are remote. With such a low ceiling an enemy flying over would be about a hundred feet and subject to intense AA. For a second night the Japanese remained at home. I wonder how long this will go on. The thought of a full night's sleep is an inviting one.

All were up at reveille on the twenty-fifth after several nights of good sleep. *Yolo* provisions twenty ships a day and feeds about five hundred men each meal. From time to time a destroyer moors alongside and the CO demands just about everything on board. Our orders are not to provision these large men o' war. As their CO outranks me, he demands the foodstuffs. I stand my ground. My reply is,

[47] Japanese Army fighter aircraft.

"I am sorry, if you have any complaints, tell it to Admiral Turner's staff." Contradictory orders are issued, revoked and issued again. Through it all we get plaudits for a job well done. . . . From what we understand, our troops are weary and frustrated. We paid dearly for the yards won that day and now a breakout will be slow and costly.

Enemy resistance has caused heavy casualties and has reduced our efficiency so that a reorganization of our forces is necessary. The 77th Division was moved into the line after taking Ie and the idea of a second front abandoned. When the possibility of an early victory waned, the outlook of the high command changed. Nimitz lashed out at Buckner, and Mitch complained that the construction of air strips was so slow that his force could not operate as an offensive fleet. TF 58 was tied to the defense of the island, and its release will not come until land-based air takes over. When that happens, Mitch's fleet will be on the prowl once again. . . . When the enemy launches a Kikusui, fighters supporting Okinawa are withdrawn, and the task force prepares for the onslaught. But it is not just the Kikusui that tires the pilots; the dawn to dusk flights take away their spark.

Disturbing, too, are the losses at sea. By the eighteenth, eighty vessels had been hit, fifteen of which were sunk. TF 58 began operations on March 19 with four task groups and sixteen carriers, of which eleven were of the Essex Class.[48] By April 19 the fleet was reduced to three groups, and as a result, fighter pilots were exhausted. For the month to April 17, TF 58 lost 136 pilots and fifty-five air crewmen, while ship personnel counted 507 killed and seven hundred wounded. The enemy will eventually lose the battle, but they hope the losses inflicted will cause us to cancel the invasion of Honshu. Their plan to drive away our fleet and isolate our troops was thwarted. Instead the Japanese have been cut off from the homeland.

. . .

On the twenty-sixth, . . . four commanders and a lieutenant commander, all prospective commanding officers, reported on board for berthing and messing and to await the arrival of their ships. The deck Quonset is available, but these were high-ranking officers, and I knew they would refuse to sleep under such conditions. They were furious and refused to stay in the hut. After scrambling about, the mess boys found four bunks not in use in wardroom country. These were made available. The officers stayed for the night but contended they would complain to the admiral. This they did early the next morning. Meanwhile, the Exec went to the flagship and explained that the quarters on board could not handle such high-ranking officers. Conditions were primitive and adequate for those with fewer stripes. Two days later *Yolo* was relieved of the responsibility for providing quarters for transient officers. The flag realized the situation and gave us a "well done." A former luxury liner anchored nearby was designated to handle the officers.

[48] The Essex Class of aircraft carriers were the largest and most modern carriers at the time.

On the twenty-seventh Kikusui IV was set in motion. Undoubtedly the lull of the last few days was preparation time for the Japanese to gather sufficient power to make the assault. In this two-day attack the enemy sent 115 kamikazes along with an equal number of fighters and bombers. Around 2020 radar spotted a number of high-flying enemy sought out by the searchlights on Yontan. At 2230 *Yolo* and the shore batteries fired on a Zeke[49] at five thousand feet. Around 2230 two picket destroyers were damaged and an ammunition ship at Hagushi was sunk by the kamikazes. We secured from GQ at 2245 as the last of the enemy departed. A moon rides high in the sky and yet on a night so calm, still, and beautiful, death and destruction surround us.

At 0308 on the twenty-eighth as the smoke lifted, *Yolo* fired at two aircraft, a Sally[50] at three thousand yards and a Zeke at 2,500. Tonight was tough!. Even the smoke offered little protection. It was with relief that the word to secure came. After supper Bing Crosby in "The Birth of the Blues" was the feature movie. All enjoyed it but then we were off to GQ and another all-night session. At Hagushi, twenty-seven enemy aircraft attacked the beaches. All but two were downed. Fighters from TF 58 downed an additional thirty-two enemy during the day. We are fortunate that we are protected by the pickets, TF 58, and the Corsairs at Yontan and Kadena. Ashore the stalemate continues. Supplies are landed daily. The rumor persists that there is a shortage of some shell types in spite of all efforts to meet the demand. The resistance on Ie Shima ceased at noon on the twenty-third and construction on the fighter fields began immediately.

Early on the morning of the twenty-ninth, Yontan felt the full effect of enemy bombs. We secured from GQ at dawn. . . .

. . .

May 1 and 2 brought more bad weather. On the third the clouds lifted. With no wind, business was brisk. Time has run out. The small vessels have been in operation for more than a month and they are out of everything. They complain of lack of replacement parts and damaged equipment. Most have had no opportunity for maintenance in over a month. *Yolo* has neither the manpower nor storage to handle all requests. . . . Along our port side are a number of rusty, muddy barges with unkempt personnel. They remain at work until relieved by another crew. *Yolo* provides them food, a bath, clean clothing, and a bunk.

By 2200 on May 3 we had been to GQ twice. This could be a night of harassment. Failing to penetrate the screen in early attacks, a number of enemies were downed some miles out. The Japanese concentrated on Picket Station 10[51] to the

[49] This was the Japanese Army and Navy fighter better known as the Zero.

[50] Japanese Army medium bomber.

[51] Destroyers and other vessels manned numerous stations encircling Okinawa, called Radar Picket stations. It was their job to track incoming air attacks and use their anti-aircraft fire to destroy the planes bound for Okinawa. The ships on the picket line often bore the brunt of the kamikazes.

west some seventy-one miles from Bolo. Five ships were hit in Kikusui V when the enemy launched 125 kamikazes and a like number of escorts. Ninety men were killed and 155 wounded. Although not many aircraft were involved, the Japanese made up in hits what they lacked in numbers.

Beginning around midnight on May 4 the island took its usual pounding. Again we remained at GQ all night. The cold penetrated, although the day was mild. There must be something psychological about the cold. Even with a jacket and overcoat, a blanket felt good. The crew huddles together. I am always on the conn with the OOD and the rest of the bridge watch. This was a day of four long GQs. The alert this morning involved only one plane at Hagushi. Breaking through the defenses, it was taken under fire by ships in the anchorage. Apparently hit, the pilot drove straight down in a screaming dive, crashing into the cruiser *Birmingham*, anchored but a hundred yards from *Yolo*. There was a ball of fire, a puff of smoke and a huge smoke ring. During the day hundreds of American planes took to the air. Nine ships were hit, two of which sank, while 476 men were killed and 557 were wounded.

During the night Japanese soldiers using landing craft attempted to cut behind our lines. The attempt was foiled by mid-morning. Enemy aircraft hit Yontan causing some damage. Ships destroyed fifteen suicide boats. . . .

On the fifth the red alert did not sound until 0130 but it lasted for three hours. Meanwhile, a destroyer escort was kamikazed in the anchorage. The night of the sixth was similar. We went to GQ at 0130 and remained there until first light. The night was bitterly cold with a sharp northern wind sweeping over the anchorage. We continued to service ships. One vessel hit us so hard it punched a hole in our side, despite the many fenders. With so many vessels coming alongside, bumpings are bound to happen and holes are inevitable. . . .

For over two hours in the early morning of the seventh we were at GQ. Twenty enemy planes flew down from the north and heckled the ships in the anchorage. Another GQ was called. The men were exhausted. To make matters worse the weather was miserable with lots of wind and rain. The conditions under which we work can lead to depression. . . .

One of the last large boxes brought aboard before departing Pearl was a cage of pigeons with two Army enlisted men as caretakers. For four months the pigeons have been aboard. They have caused embarrassment and provided amusement as well. Now the two soldiers and their birds are rejoining their unit on the beach. One of the handlers came in to tell me good-bye. He had tears in his eyes when he said he hated to leave, that if the Army officers were like me it would be a much better outfit for which to work and die. He also said that our crew was so young they did not appreciate what was being done for them.

The weather was again bad on the eighth. This morning a dispatch was handed me announcing the end of the war in Europe. It was expected, so there was no surprise or celebration. We initially greeted V-E Day with little emotion and few

Crew's mess aboard LST(M) 677. *(Author's collection.)*

words. Comments were few among the crew, but quite a bull session developed in the wardroom. Now Okinawa is the theatre of activity. . . . All listened to President Truman's announcement, and many ships conducted services. At exactly 1200 one round from every gun ashore accompanied by a salvo from the fire support vessels was directed at enemy targets in recognition of the victory.

On the ninth the sun was bright and the day perfect. A terrific bombardment began in the evening. Indeed the call to GQ came at 2100. Two ships were hit by kamikazes, and Yontan was again bombed. The next day we spent 7.5 hours at GQ. Numerous bogeys were reported. Twenty enemies approached and as they converged over Bolo the shore batteries fired, but neither side recorded a hit. Those who have been in the European theatre are amazed at the cone of AA that turns the sky into red, white, and black. As a plane falls in a blackening stream of smoke, it explodes upon hitting the sea, burns fiercely for a few seconds, and is gone. What we were witnessing was the start of Kikusui VI. With the involvement of 150 kamikazes and their escorts, the assault lasted two days.

Late in the afternoon of the tenth the reefer ship,[52] *U.S.S. Bridge,* arrived and *Yolo* was underway immediately to anchor beside her, our brood of small boats

[52] Refrigerator ship.

following in our wake. Getting underway is an involved and amusing operation. As vessels alongside are cast off, the small boat men climb in their craft and the barge people stand clear. Booms are taken in and the ship's boats are hoisted aboard. . . . Crews line the rails of the ships we pass and besiege us with questions. . . . At 0100 on the eleventh GQ was called. It was a long one, lasting all night. Half the crew fought the ship, the other half handled the provisioning. No one slept.

In late afternoon messages poured in warning us of bad weather. The boats were hoisted, the ship moved, and more anchor chain let out. Loading of stores eased and our brood was sent to the Bisha Gawa. Anchored in thirty fathoms with all possible chain out, *Yolo* yawed and rolled a good twenty degrees.

Even though it was cold and windy during the night of the twelfth, by morning it had improved enough to continue loading. . . . This evening two undetected Oscars approached, circled the anchorage, selected as their target the battleship *New Mexico* anchored close by, and then with machine guns blazing attacked the ship in screaming dives from a high altitude. The first plane was hit by AA and plunged in the sea, but its bomb turned the *New Mexico*'s stack into a giant blow torch. The second Oscar, although hit, crashed *New Mexico's* sun deck and island, destroying most of the AA batteries concentrated there. Fifty-four died and 119 were wounded. During the assault there was little thought of anything except where will the planes hit? *Yolo* did not fire a shot.

. . .

On the conn we have a voice radio over which all ships conduct their business. The control ship gives each vessel permission to transmit and lists those ships wishing to call. Only one vessel at a time is allowed to transmit. Instead of calling ships by their proper names, every naval vessel has a voice call. The names are interesting, original, and humorous. All enjoy the vocal expressions and transmissions. Several of the more familiar names are: Lipstick, Snooty, Crowbar, Ironsides, Bob Hope, Lana Turner, Sackbutt, Egghead, and our own, Prison Walls.

. . . GQ sounded at 0310 [on May 15] and bombs were dropped south of Bisha Gawa by high-flying aircraft. Through the night . . . the enemy dropped bombs and shore batteries replied with intense AA. Rushing to the bridge, I saw the first bombs hit the beach. With their rhumph, rhumph, the explosions sent sparks into the air like huge phosphorescent fountains. Now that fighters are stationed at Yontan, destroying them appears to be the enemy's number one priority.

. . .

GQ lasted from shortly after midnight to dawn on the seventeenth. Smoke was made and we were completely covered. Sometime in the morning, a ghost-like enemy plane came out of the fog fifty feet above *Yolo*. As the noise of the engines closed and then receded, a strange feeling crept over me. We could do nothing but wait, hope, and duck behind the bridge barrier. . . .

. . . At 0400 on the night of the eighteenth a raid closed from the west and

remained in the area for over an hour. Fortunately nothing developed. Following breakfast, sacks of mail were brought on board, which improved the attitude of the men. Smiles were broad and personalities changed. It was really pleasant. After supper a movie was shown. Although interrupted several times, the men saw it in its entirety. These nuisance raids wear us down. Commencing at dusk and continuing until 2330, thirty enemy planes dropped bombs on Yontan. We understand there was some damage.

GQ and the nuisance raids that followed lasted intermittently from 0236 to 0454 on the nineteenth. . . . With many of the men getting so little sleep, they are unable to carry out ship's work. Nerves are on edge and this snapping at one another is not good. I plan to change the entire order for going to GQ. With the smoke cover all men need not remain at their battle stations. We shall go to GQ when ordered, but when covered with smoke most stations will secure. Exceptions will be made with the conn, the smoke generator, and engine room watch. . . .

. . . The Japanese . . . seem to be gathering themselves for another Kikusui. After supper came a call to GQ. To the west in the setting sun we saw puffs of smoke. As darkness settled in, the anchorage was smoked for several hours. . . . Following the movie, I came topside and stopped at the rail to look at the calm sea and the moon surrounded by fleecy clouds. The air is oppressively still, the atmosphere sticky and humid, boding bad weather to come. Toward the beach, where the fighting is fierce, the sky is white from the glare of star shells. Flashes of fire are prominent as the bombardment vessels pound the enemy. Shells crash and echo again and again in a constant rumbling. A few miles from this land battle, ships with lights blazing unload while men and equipment work round the clock to give the airfields a facelift. About thirty-five planes made a strong attack on shipping this day. Five picket ships were damaged and twenty-five enemies were downed.

The morning of May 21 dawned quiet and warm but later the rising wind caused several ships to drag anchor. . . . Reports indicate that the rains which began this night will continue for several days. . . . Night fighters accounted for nine aircraft out of an estimated fifteen that attacked. When the word to secure came, the wind had increased and black clouds rolled up on the horizon while vivid flashes of lightning brightened the sky. The ship yaws across the full scope of the chain. Toward midnight a downpour drenched those topside. . . . Storms and bad weather were with us most of the night. It is still cold at night and cool during the day. Pea jackets are worn during the day and night with the added protection of foul weather gear after dark. . . . On the dinner menu was turkey. Afterward the officers bought cigars to celebrate what I do not know. . . . The enemy's nuisance raids lasted four hours. As we learned later, this night was the beginning of Kikusui VII. For the better part of two days the Japanese engaged our forces with 165 kamikazes and an equal number of fighters and bombers.

With reveille on the twenty-fourth, we heard music from shore. Okinawa has a

radio station. Though high on the priority list, it did not go on the air until today. A splendid system of highways is being constructed on the island. New fields are in operation, and hundreds of planes take off and land daily. Okinawa has passed from a defensive stage to an offensive one. . . . GQ was called at 2100, about the time Yontan and Kedena were bombed. Within minutes a suicide force of 120 landed at Yontan. Eleven other bombers were downed before they could land with their suiciders. They carried all manner of weapons. After destroying a number of planes, forces at Yontan wiped out the Japanese. We could see fires burning on Yontan most of the night. This was all part of Kikusui VII.

May 25 saw a continuation of the Kikusui. Starting around midnight and lasting until 0300, some twenty-two raids assaulted the anchorage and beaches. From 0800 until 1100 ten more raids were contacted. Enemy planes were spotted around the compass but plenty of splashes were reported by Hellcats and Corsairs. Listening to the fighter pilots as they talk to one another gives us an opportunity to follow the fighting in the sky. . . . In another incident a friendly flew over Hagushi and the AA opened up. The pilot said it was easier to land on the Japanese fields than to fly over the anchorage. With air attacks and heavy raids, Hagushi ships were busy, but Marine pilots were overhead giving us plenty of protection. In the middle of Kikusui VII orders came to proceed to the outer anchorage and re-provision from the reefer *Latona,* standing by with 215 tons of fresh and frozen food. . . . When *Yolo* is being serviced, every small ship for miles gets the word and begs to come alongside. Our routine answer is to contact us in a few days. Each ship brings us information which adds to our knowledge of overall developments. Resistance on Okinawa continues with the mud and rain slowing down the armor. More than six inches of rain has fallen in the last eight days. This day, the twenty-fifth, nine ships were hit, three of which sank with a loss of seventy killed and 130 wounded.

At 0700 battleship *Missouri* arrived with Admiral W. F. Halsey, who relieved Spruance.[53] *Yolo* is now a Third Fleet Ship.

Bad weather continued on the twenty-seventh, but the wind diminished. By nightfall the weather cleared and the call to GQ came early. Picket Station 5 was attacked. Fifty planes attacked the ships patrolling that station, and two destroyers were crashed by kamikazes. By 2400 the last of the raids disappeared, . . . At 0010 on the twenty-eighth, *LCS 119,* patrolling the perimeter of the anchorage, splashed a Betty,[54] and eight minutes later the gunboat was hit by a Rufe.[55] At Hagushi two

[53] Admiral Raymond Spruance, commander of the Fifth Fleet. Approximately every six months, Spruance and Halsey rotated commands. When Spruance was in command it was the Fifth Fleet and all the task forces were 58, 57, 56, etc., while Admiral Halsey and his staff planned for the next campaign. Then Admiral Halsey would take over and it would be the Third Fleet with task force 38, 37, 36, etc., while Spruance and his staff planned for the next campaign. Same ships, same crews, just a change in the commander and a change in name of the fleet.

[54] Japanese high-level or torpedo bomber.

[55] The Rufe was a Japanese Navy float plane used for reconnaissance and as a fighter.

enemies were splashed by gunfire from a couple of destroyers. The GQ of May 27–28 lasted ten hours, one of the longest we have experienced. Smoke was made during the entire time. Just before securing, an enemy seaplane appeared. A few bursts from the gunners on ships with gunners who could see through the smoke cover sent him plunging into the sea. Shortly before breakfast there was an alert. Another enemy was caught over the anchorage and downed. Within minutes out of the clouds a bomb landed a hundred yards from *Yolo*. We never saw the plane that dropped it. As we later learned the attacks of May 27–29 were known as Kikusui VIII. During these days the Japanese sent 120 kamikazes into the fight. Most who tangled with TF 38[56] did not return to Japan. The Americans lost eight ships with 287 killed and 233 wounded.

. . .

On the thirtieth, . . . there has been much activity around the harbor. . . . The Japanese pocket of resistance narrows, with the fighting furious. The number of enemy artillery rounds dropped from five thousand daily to five hundred. Their artillery must be feeling the effect of the Americans' pounding. Bogeys were reported around 0239 on the thirty-first, but none appeared. The weather cleared and occasionally tonight a few stars appeared only to be quickly extinguished by low hanging clouds. Each day is packed with problems, incidents, successes, and failures. Today one of the firemen let the evaporators run with a valve open, pumping 20,000 gallons of sea water into fresh water tanks. Water is on the critical list. Every ship asks for it and we do our best to oblige. Verbal bickering between engineers and supply people breaks out on occasion, the constant talk about rates and promotions, the scuttlebutt about the ship's destination, and the hope and longing for home—all these verbal outbursts are part of the day's activity. Throw in others and you have a typical day off Okinawa.

Tonight I have been on deck to catch the little breeze as it sings in the rigging and to watch the scene unfold. A star-studded sky shines overhead. The cargo ships' lights throw a bright blanket over part of the anchorage. . . . For hundreds of yards up and down the beach, vehicles and materiel move into their designed places in the build-up. With the headlights on the roads one has the feeling this is a real city. To the south star shells appear with monotonous regularity and ships' guns offshore boom and echo all night.

The Final Month at Okinawa

June 1. . . . With the campaign at Okinawa coming to a close, most believe that the ship will be sent to a staging area to prepare for the Kyushu landings. Most would like to see a period of intense bombing and a blockade of Japan before a landing is made. It was not long after this discussion we learned that the invasion was set for November 1.

[56] Formerly Task Force 58. See note 52.

I spent the afternoon on the bridge observing the activity, following our aircraft as they bombed Japanese positions ashore. The enemy AA was clearly visible. The entire anchorage can be observed from the bridge with binoculars. . . . I can see the flashes, the smoke and flame from the bombardment as well. The signalmen tell me rumors persist from the fighter pilots that the war will be over in August. They must know something, for sitting here off Yontan I cannot see an early end to hostilities. . . .

. . .

Although a flash red sounded on the third, the enemy failed to penetrate the defenses. Most agree that it makes sense for the Japanese to pass up the pickets and fly directly to Hagushi. Certainly if the attack is pressed, some planes are bound to get through and the damage would be more substantial. At 1230 a series of raids involving fifty enemies commenced. Taffy and CAP[57] downed many before they neared the anchorage. Not a single plane flew over Hagushi. At 2130 in the middle of a cold rain the enemy tried to break through again, this time with ten aircraft. During this day thirty-six planes were downed. After the movie the officers listened to the radio and played cards. The crew bedded down. Outside a hard rain beat down. On shore there was nothing but mud.

. . .

I was up early on June 6, had breakfast, and . . . inspected the ship alone, stopped by the sick bay and was given another shot. During lunch I slipped in the crew's chow line to see how their fried chicken tasted and what if anything was amiss. . . . The cooks have come a long way in eleven months. . . . We learned that the B-29s bomb Japan regularly, while one of Halsey's groups made a high speed run and bombed the fields of southern Kyushu.

. . . Some weeks ago several of the crew picked up a sinking whaleboat and began to restore it. They promised me a captain's gig. Later, while at Leyte, the finished project was given to me. It was a handsome gig!

. . .

Between 0034 and 0500 on June 8, sixty enemy aircraft were over the area. The strong winds of yesterday quieted and the stars appeared. The sky was clear. The Japanese flew within five miles of Hagushi and then withdrew. The Japanese "no attack" plan is to make us remain at GQ for long periods of time. This day CAP engaged a number of enemy planes some miles out and TF 38 resumed operations off southern Kyushu. Only twenty-nine planes were destroyed while TF 38 lost four to ground AA. During the day ninety-three tons of fresh and frozen provisions from the cargo vessel *Matar* were brought aboard *Yolo*.

Beginning at 0026 and lasting until dawn on the eighth the Hagushi ships remained at flash red. Bolder than usual, the enemy flew over the anchorage but

[57] The fighters of the Taffy escort carriers and the Combat Air Patrol.

dropped bombs on the fields. . . . Loading dry stores from *Matar* proceeded at a rapid pace. All turned to with a will that surprised me. Maybe they think this loading will be the last time. Our period of usefulness is just about over. Many smaller vessels have already been withdrawn.

. . .

After midnight on the tenth, twelve raids entered the area. Several old seaplanes were downed while the destroyer *William D. Porter*, patrolling on Picket Station 15, was crashed by a kamikaze diving out of the overcast. The ship sank in a matter of minutes.

. . . Most of our fresh provisions are exhausted and except for dry stores we are a water ship. . . . Following the show I went topside to look skyward and shoreward. The latter was a beehive of activity. Overhead the stars are bright, but a nasty wind whips the water's surface. Far to the south a bombardment goes on.

. . .

. . . On shore a construction and building boom is under way. Far to the south the land battle continues. If it were not for the last battle, this place would be like Pearl. The weather has changed. It is so hot the men sleep on the deck as I do. The new wardroom ports are secured. They are for light and not ventilation. A number of Marines came aboard for a meal and bath. I had to deny them the luxury because word came down from the high command that we could not give to one without giving to all. We must be fair!

COs of vessels coming alongside drop by my cabin to say "thanks." Most are happy at the supplies they receive. A few become belligerent. A tongue lashing follows along with an explanation of why we do what we do. Commander Ageton's[58] yeoman told our yeoman we had one of the best action reports they had seen. Following lunch of grilled steak our officers asked questions from the "World Almanac." It is an effort to keep our minds sharp. At lunch the Exec of the *LST 675* came aboard. His ship on April 4 struck an un-charted pinnacle and had her bottom ripped open. She will be de-commissioned and used as a post office.

The hecklers kept us up most of the night on the fifteenth. A first quarter moon and plenty of light accounted for their actions. Because fewer ships were in the area, for many minutes the smoke failed to cover us. No sooner had all stations reported to me as manned and ready than we heard a "whoosh" accompanied by a swish and an explosion. Every man aboard took cover. My order for them to do so was probably the most superfluous one ever made. It was the first baka[59] we had experienced. During the night planes constantly launched bakas and dropped

[58] Ageton was Commander LST Flotilla 3.

[59] Baka, or "cherry blossom" in Japanese, was a one-man piloted 4,700-pound bomb with rocket propulsion. They were carried beneath the Betty bombers and launched near the American ships, after which the pilot would select a target and steer the bomb into a ship. Americans called it "screwball" or "fool."

bombs. Shore batteries fired on silhouetted aircraft and brought one down. Then out of the smoke came planes flying at masthead height, engines roaring, giving credence to the story that the Japanese are trying a new tactic—flying through the smoke at twenty feet hoping to hit something.

On the sixteenth . . . following several peaceful days the pickets were once again the targets. At 2030, *Twiggs* was hit by a torpedo and sank in an hour. Casualties were heavy with 126 killed and thirty-four wounded. To try and halt the flights over the anchorage, several carriers still around sent daily strikes to hit Amami.[60] Some of the smaller carriers were released as land-based planes take over more of the defense.

After the ship was cleaned on Sunday the seventeenth, holiday routine was announced. Both Catholic and Protestant chaplains came out for well-attended services. The Protestant chaplain stayed for lunch and told us about life ashore. At 2105 bombs fell on the anchorage, dropped from planes passing high overhead. Shore and ship guns blazed away. The smoke boat personnel, who have been living on board for weeks, departed to take up quarters on shore. They were proud of their unkempt condition and refused to clean their quarters before leaving. Even their officers planned to depart without seeing that it was done. I stationed our officers over theirs to see that the quarters were spic-and-span. Because the transports found the men difficult to control, they pawned them off on us for smoke duty. While at the show, a message was handed me to get underway immediately and prepare to load from a reefer. Waves were running high and the wind was blowing hard. I saw no reason for moving this late and requested a delay, which was granted. Some weeks ago my request would not have been considered. Things change.

Loading was scheduled for the nineteenth, but because of the heavy swell in particular, the exercise was delayed. In the summer the wind blows from the southwest and the open sea brings with it heavy swell. At other times of the year the wind blows from the northeast or east and thus land protects us. In talking with the men I sense restlessness. They have not been on land for four months, and they object to the loading procedure without some mechanical means to help. We have divided the men into three teams and put competition and reward into the system.

The weather remained bad the next day. An outstanding event occurred when the command said, "When we felt conditions were right to carry out the loading we should." Wow, what a concession! After all these months the decision whether to load was given to us. . . .

. . .

On the twenty-second the word was passed to secure from GQ after four hours. The Japanese concentrated on Station 15, but the damage occurred when two ships

[60] A Japanese-held island north of Okinawa.

were hit on the east side of Okinawa. Owing to the great work of CAP, twenty-nine enemy were destroyed. Two ships were lost while six men were killed and forty-five wounded. As we were to find out later, these attacks were called Kikusui X, the last of the floating chrysanthemums. Some forty-five kamikazes, along with a like number of escorts and bombers were involved.

Both reefers pulled out on June 23 leaving the provisioning to *Yolo*. Ship after ship came alongside, taxing our resources. The fairly good weather of the last few days turned cold with an eighteen-knot wind and plenty of swell. I called on the float commander who gave me no satisfaction about replacing our worn-out LCVPs. It was only through the skill of the enginemen and carpenters that they ran at all. At noon we saw and heard the drumfest of the island's surrender. Following a chorus of "well done," things continued as before.

. . .

What a day! Mr. Davis[61] came back from the Third Fleet Supply office and that official said, "If you can unload in two days you will be on your way to Leyte." Tonight we are open for business. Some two hundred tons of provisions must be moved—it will be! It is an all-hands evolution with enthusiasm. The command supply officer complimented us on the job we have done while here.

. . .

On this last day at Okinawa ships started coming alongside early, and by 1600 we had unloaded. The communications officer took the boat and picked up most of the sailing orders from Captain Brereton. Morale has jumped several notches even though the men know there is plenty of work ahead. There will be liberty in Leyte, and we shall give the men as much as possible. Scarcely had taps sounded when we went to GQ. All guns were manned but we were deep in fog.

. . .

Arrival at Leyte and Peace

At 0830 on June 28 we moved out of the anchorage. . . . It was the usual sight of ships arriving and then forming up in columns with the escorts out in front. But there is always a thrill connected with such a movement. Positions were found, and the twenty-five ship convoy formed. Course and speed were set for our destination, Leyte Gulf.

There is always something exciting about getting underway for a journey of some distance. This one was unusual in that *Yolo* was steaming to a new area. The sight of a number of vessels from Hagushi, Kerama, Nago Wan, and the East Side converging and forming up presented a remarkable display of seamanship—so different and so far more professional than a year ago. The signal flags of all ships fluttering from their yard arms was colorful and meaningful, as all vessels with relative ease found their

[61] *Yolo's* supply officer.

stations in the convoy. The escorts, too, had their moment of glory as they steamed about, positioning themselves in their patrolling stations so they might protect us from a submarine attack that all hoped would not develop.

Although a stiff breeze blows, bringing with it swells that make *Yolo* creak and groan as she rolls, we are underway at last. The ships in the anchorage slowly melt into shapeless forms, then to nothing but masts, as the island drops away. . . . Watching Okinawa disappear as I sat in my chair on the bridge, my thoughts naturally turned to the eighty-nine days of virtual imprisonment we spent off that island. . . . On a diet of GQs, 257 air attacks, smoke, fog, cold, rain, and wind, we became a "band of brothers" and fighting ones at that. . . .

After arrival in San Pedro Bay, Leyte, on July 3, the *Yolo* reported to Com Service Squadron 10 for availability and repairs. . . . On July 22, COM Service Div 101 ordered the ship to the Seventh Fleet for a run with fresh provisions to transports waiting for them in Subic Bay. Proceeding independently, *Yolo* arrived at her destination at 0712 on July 27, . . . At 1138 on July 29 *Yolo* departed Subic and arrived at Leyte on August 1 and was ordered to resume her period of availability. . . .

On August 9 the news that Russia had declared war on Japan came early. All listened to the radio as the word was beamed throughout the ship. We also learned that the atomic bomb had been dropped. From the States via radio on the tenth came the news of Japan's imminent capitulation. All personnel went wild. Just as darkness fell throughout the anchorage a spontaneous demonstration lasting two hours began. It was a sight that only those present could understand and appreciate. Ships turned on all their lights including searchlights, whose beams weaved across the low-hanging clouds. Coordinated with the ships' lights was the most amazing display of pyrotechnics—star shells, flares, shells, Very pistols, all in blues, yellows, greens, reds, and whites. The sky was a mass of color. Each ship's hoses sprayed streams of water into the air, while multi-colored lights appeared on the yardarms of most vessels. Ships dressed ship with every light on board. Sirens, whistles, bugle notes, loud speakers—all joined in a crescendo of sound and color.

The demonstrations continued even though there had been no official word of the surrender. SOPA finally gave all ships permission to issue "pyrotechnics as needed for the display," but with rain showers and a diminishing supply of pyrotechnics the ardor dimmed, and one by one the lights went out. Occasionally the beam from a solitary searchlight probed the sky, while several ships displayed their multi-colored convoy lights. The men gathered in small groups along the rail to observe the celebration. Cries to break out the beer were heard, but despite the many entreaties I held firm. We only had a few cases left and wanted those for "the day." Finally the last light went out; the men went below to talk far into the night, while those in wardroom country began to look to their future.

. . . We heard several commands wanted the services of *Yolo*, including Guam. In preparation for the movement to Japan, where we finally learned we were to be

Lt. C. Homer Bast, aboard Yolo. *(Author's collection.)*

sent, the *Yolo* was ordered to the Naval Supply Depot, where a capacity load of provisions was taken aboard prior to return to San Pedro anchorage on the twenty-seventh. While in San Pedro a convoy of sixteen LSTs and two APBs was formed by August 31 under Commander Ling[62] (ComLST Grp 67) who had orders to deliver the ships to Batangus, Luzon, on September 5. Meanwhile, Ling and I had our problems eventually settled by his operations officer, an old friend of mine. Remaining overnight at Batangus, the convoy grew to sixty-five ships under the command of Captain A. C. Seay in *LC(FF) 425*. The convoy was underway at 0900 on September 6 for Japan.

Proceeding at a base speed of nine knots, the convoy passed Lingayon Bay, Luzon, late that evening and was joined by several more LSTs. While steaming north of Luzon, reports arrived warning of a developing typhoon. All ships were ordered to set typhoon conditions, batten down, secure all cargo, and maintain maximum watertight integrity. The storm moving at 8.5 knots and accompanied by mountainous seas and torrential rain was heading northwest. It was obvious the storm would strike us unless the commodore increased speed, changed course, or both. I remained on the conn, departing for the chart house only to study the ship's position relative to the typhoon. About noon on the ninth the OTC [Seay] finally changed course to the north and increased speed, too little and too late. I was concerned and cursed the stupidity of the OTC because the changes were so obvious and should have been made hours before. The new course did lessen the ship's motion. Turkey was served for lunch. I suppose the cooks thought it was to be the last meal for a spell.

That afternoon the seas rose, the wind increased, and the ship acquired a more pronounced roll. All signs of an imminent typhoon were present—a heavy sky accompanied by a thin, uniform cirrus veil, thundershowers, a falling barometer, and heavy, hot, moist air. Squalls broke off from a low, solid, and rugged looking cloud bank. Cross seas that rolled on forever buffeted *Yolo*. From the plot, the storm's

[62] Commander of LST Group 67.

center, we hoped, would pass aft of the convoy. During the night furious winds with driving rains poured on the watch personnel, stinging their hands and faces until they bled.

The morning of the tenth dawned bleak and cold with massed clouds on the horizon. To keep the seas on the starboard bow, the convoy changed course to the east and reduced speed. Both the interval and distance between ships was increased to allow latitude in ship handling. With the seas running thirty feet high, the pounding was bad. Indeed, the waves were so high that except for the masts, ships disappeared in the troughs of the waves.

Before noon the *LST 936* ahead signaled she had struck a mine. Her seams had opened and water was pouring into the tank deck. The fires were extinguished but the pumps were unable to control the water. The OTC decided to evacuate the three hundred Army men on board by boatswain's chair to the largest escort, an APD. For seven hours the operation continued with the two ships barely twenty-five yards apart. Darkness halted the transfer but even so, two hundred men were removed in a remarkable display of seamanship. Meanwhile, the crew of the *936* shored up the damage, halted the inflow of water and with the APD proceeded to Buckner Bay. Following the 2000 reports the wind freshened even more and the seas remained high and unpleasant. At times *Yolo* rolled forty degrees.

At 0139 on the eleventh our steering locked in hard right. *Yolo* was turning to starboard. Breakdown lights were displayed and I tried to use the engines to halt the turn. Meanwhile the ship completed a 180-degree turn and the *Yolo* was steaming toward ships astern. By then, hand steering was established, and I maneuvered the ship out of danger with the coordinated actions of the LSTs astern. Think about the OODs of those ships as they suddenly saw ahead the running lights of a vessel bearing down on them. By dawn the wind and sea calmed, and the convoy returned to its original course. Speed was increased to nine knots.

The convoy sighted the heights surrounding Sagani Bay, Honshu, at 1150 on September 15. Proceeding into Tokyo Bay, *Yolo* anchored at 2026. The following morning I attended a conference on board *LC(FF) 425* and was ordered to moor to the Yokohama docks. Assigned to CTF 33,[63] our duties were similar to those performed at Okinawa. . . .

Garbage is of concern. It mounts daily. *Yolo's* garbage is collected in "GI" cans and placed on the pier. It was suggested that we use the many Japanese men and boys who live around the dock area. Compensation would be in the form of garbage, if they so desired. After we spread the garbage on the pier, as one would slop the hogs, the Japanese on their hands and knees ate fiercely. In return these men cleaned cans, policed the dock, and did other tasks. Those who came to the ship daily were clothed in rags; they slept in boxes on the piers. My emotions were con-

[63] Commander Task Force 33.

Coming into Yokohoma harbor in September 1945 where the ship remained for nine months. (Author's collection.)

fused. I saw them now, and I had read of and witnessed their former arrogance, and now this!

Later we pressed these Japanese into more active service. One of the coxswains through sign language and motions established the nature of the work, chipping paint or acting as stevedores. Pay was set at one cigarette an hour and a meal to be served on the dock at noon. The Japanese were marched in two files on board, given chipping hammers, and put to work. One man was trained as a boss and another as a food server. Lunch consisted of a huge slice of bread piled high with meat and potatoes. Coffee was the drink. Most had never tasted this kind of food. They squatted on the dock and ate with their fingers. The workers reported at 0800 and quit at 1700. Their other meals were eaten from the garbage on the pier. Some saved the cigarettes to trade or sell; others smoked them each hour.

Orders for me to return home arrived on November 5. . . .

Yolo has been a joy. . . . *Yolo* is a great ship not just a good one. It took the efforts of all to make her so. . . . From admirals to pigeon handlers, all have praised our outstanding work. I am so excited I cannot believe I am going home. Neither can I put down in any meaningful way my feelings of how I have lived, worked and been through tough times with this group of boys who have become men. The only thing I can say now is that I love them all and wish them nothing but success in the years ahead.

Book Reviews

Mencken, The American Iconoclast: The Life and Times of the Bad Boy of Baltimore. By Marion Elizabeth Rodgers. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 662 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, $35.00.)

Was any other major, twentieth-century U.S. city so dominated by the sound and echo of one individual resident, as Baltimore was by H. L. Mencken?

People off in the distance—some smilingly, others in anger—were aware of Mencken, all right; but Baltimore? Where might that be?

Fifty years have gone by since Mencken's death (home in bed at 1524 Hollins Street, facing Union Square), at age 75; now it's a whole different century. But who has replaced him, as the Sage of Baltimore?

The book market is still right for a blockbuster biography. Reader interest has been encouraged by the labors of Edgar Kemler (1950), William Manchester (1955), Alistair Cooke (1955), William Nolte (1966), Philip Wagner (1966), Betty Adler (1967, 1969), Carl Bode (1969), Fred C. Hobson (1974, 1994), Charles Fecher (1978), Edward A. Martin (1984), Vincent Fitzpatrick (1989), Terry Teachout (2002) and others. Meanwhile, in Goucher College's library, Marion Elizabeth Rodgers, during her Class of 1981 commencement week, chanced upon a file of letters between Mencken and Sara Haardt, Class of 1920, and published them. Then Rodgers (by now, Mrs. Jules Witcover) set about a broader inquiry.

The outcome is Mencken, *The American Iconoclast: The Life and Times of the Bad Boy of Baltimore.* Instead of the standard fixation on his peeves, politics, and polysyllables, in Rodgers the theme is a caring interest in her subject as a person. Secondarily, she brings far and away the best scrutiny yet to Mencken's skirt-chasing—to his lady loves. Her book will cause Mencken's shade to glow, off in whichever direction it may have gone.

Mencken's first woman biographer adheres to fairness standards. She acknowledges his "contradictions," even his lifelong self-absorption. She quotes liberally from the recollections of two close observers: Charles Angoff (his *American Mercury* office assistant) and Gerald W. Johnson (a Baltimore Sunpapers associate). Each, over the years, detested Mencken.

No serious observer disputes Mencken's abnormal intelligence, energy, toil, Gemütlichkeit, belligerence, sentimentality, loquacity, and superiority complexes. At bottom, like his boyhood idol, Mark Twain, he was an entertainer—each emitted endless, quotable, requotable wisecracks. As womanizer, in the 1920s, Mencken kept four affairs going at once. As literary critic and then magazine editor, he was one of the all-time great speed-readers. He wrote or compiled more than thirty

books; one dictation secretary, then another, typed up his short, quippish letters (as many as 100,000 of them). Mencken fancied unlit cigars, and his office on Fifth Avenue in New York featured a functioning spittoon. Meanwhile, he was deficient in empathy and charity (often ridiculing ordinary people who lacked the word gifts for self-defense); he was limited in his understanding (no college, no children, no music or economics schooling, sometimes no curiosity). Rodgers finds him "old-fashioned"—sometimes a plus (he easily could have afforded moving to Roland Park/Guilford/ Homeland, the society page triangle; instead, untrained for genteel conduct, he stayed put in the three-story, fourteen-feet-wide brick rowhouse of his boyhood); but also sometimes a minus (resisting new-fangled enthusiasms, Mencken discouraged Paul Patterson, the *Sun*'s publisher, from going into radio, which meant handing over that big new advertising medium to the *Sun*'s Hearst rival). The whole Jazz Age was lost on Mencken. And yet his own prose could be a dance of words. His Monday ed-page column, "The Free Lance," was one reason why more Baltimoreans subscribed to the *Evening Sun* than to the *Sun*.

The book of his own that he thought best of, Rodgers testifies, was *Treatise on the Gods* (1930, 1946). How eyes would boggle today, were the pious worshiper to sample it. The learning is impressive; the tone, as usual, cocksure: The Bible, "the world's greatest poetry," is loaded with errors and contradictions. Protestantism "remains a feeble force in the world, and has very little influence upon the main stream of human thought. Its theology . . . is quite as preposterous as that of the church of Rome." The cross was a symbol in various ancient religions . . . "among the early Teutons, it was the hammer of Thor."

Along the way, Mencken applauded the monarchical Germany of his Bismarck-collateral ancestors, scoffed at U.S. democracy, scorned England, impugned blue laws (i.e., restrictions on individual conduct, which he called Puritanism). He railed at restrictions on speech and press—during the two big wars. Male authority figures? Mencken's meat—here venerating Friedrich Nietzsche, there hating Franklin D. Roosevelt. Mencken spat upon the idea of group action to alleviate group miseries (such as the 1930s Depression). He soft-soaped Germany throughout World War I (somehow, the U.S. draft missed Mencken, H. L.). Then, during and after a visit to the Third Reich of Adolf Hitler, our old newspaper pro (the *Baltimore Daily Herald*) and knight errant for literary realism (Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis) simply closed his eyes, his ears, and his mind to the evils of Nazi Germany, even as they mounted about him. Rodgers smiles at Mencken's explanation, later on, for Pearl Harbor: The British kept hoping the U.S. would enter World War II, on their side; so, it was the British who got Japan to attack the U.S. Meantime, Mencken brushed past Karl Marx in his fondness for all things Teutonic. The 1948 stroke that ended Mencken's public utterances may have had its good side, in that he never got around to directly endorsing Sen. Joseph

McCarthy. All this while, individual Americans occasionally testified to moments of one-on-one kindness, and acts of generosity, by H. L. Mencken .

After so much interviewing, and so many treks along so many paper trails, Marion Rodgers is having a commercial triumph, and she deserves it. Much of her detail lay beyond the purview of previous biographers. "The American Iconoclast" himself emerges from her thick book un-clasted; i.e., with his place in this country's cultural parade more secure than ever. But, add how much the parade has lengthened, broadened and matured since the *Smart Set* and the *American Mercury*. Here's a hope that, in this new century, one or more persons holds high the banner proclaiming Baltimore—higher than was happening in H.L.M.'s part of the past.

James H. Bready
Baltimore

Note: Of an evening, from 1953 to 1955, as an emissary from the Sunpapers, Jim Bready had the honor of drinking an occasional Gibson in the sitting room at 1524 Hollins Street, all thanks to Henry and August Mencken.

David Shriver, 1735–1826: Pioneer and Patriot of Piedmont, Maryland. By George Donald Riley. (Westminster: Historical Society of Carroll County, Inc., 2003. 210 pages, illustrations, index. Cloth, $27.50.)

This well-written biography traces the career of David Shriver (baptized Johann Theobald Schreiber), born 1725, settled in what later became Carroll County, Maryland, in 1760, and died in 1825. Using the memoirs of Judge Abraham Shriver, David's son, the author discusses the activities of the first generation of Shrivers in the United States. Despite a limited education David prospered as a planter, miller, tanner, surveyor and landowner. As the eighteenth century entered its fourth quarter, David became more outspoken in his criticism of British colonial policy, so much so that his friends are reported to have warned him to "cool it" or would be declared a traitor. David ignored their warnings. Shriver was elected to the Association of Freemen for Frederick County, and was later elected to the Maryland House of Delegates and then to the Continental Congress. He served in the Maryland Senate from 1804 to 1810.

The author ties the events in Shriver's life to events in local, state, and national history, but he does so without romanticizing David's role in these events. He touches briefly on David's contemporaries and points out that one reason for Shriver's early success was that his German-speaking neighbors trusted him to represent their interests. For example, Shriver was not too proud to change his position on the Embargo Act when he realized it was hurting his constituents.

Among the most interesting features of this book is Appendix 1, in which the

author describes Shriver's voting record at the Constitutional Convention of 1776. Riley lists the Roll Call, the motion, whether Shriver voted aye or nay, and the total of votes, ayes and nays, on each motion. Other appendices contain a letter written by Shriver to his son Andrew in 1806, and David Shriver's will and inventory. The author's interest in David Shriver stems from the fact that he lives on the Shriver farm, is caretaker of the Shriver family graveyard, and his wife is the great-great-great-granddaughter of David Shriver. His bibliography lists a wide range of sources he has used.

This is not a family history, but a well-written biography of the founder of a family, of whom his descendants can justly be proud. Students of Maryland history will find this book informative and easy to read.

Copies may be ordered from the Historical Society of Carroll County, Inc., 210 East Main Street, Westminster, MD 21157. For credit card orders call 410-848-6494.

Robert Barnes
Perry Hall, Maryland

Naval Documents of the American Revolution, Volume 11: *American Theater, January 1, 1778–March 31, 1778; European Theater, January 1, 1778–March 31, 1778.* Edited by Michael J. Crawford, E. Gordon Bowen-Hassell, Dennis M. Conrad, and Mark L. Hayes. (Washington, D.C.: Naval Historical Center/U.S. Government Printing Office, 2005. 1,395 pages. Illustrations, notes, appendices, index. Cloth, $82.00.)

"Primary sources constitute the backbone of written history; and history is the means by which a nation repossesses its past," wrote President John F. Kennedy on July 4, 1963, providing the foreword to the first volume of *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, published a few months after his assassination. Since 1964, this series of publications—immense, copious works—has become a mainstay of research. The project involves an ongoing search of the archives and manuscript repositories of this continent and Europe, holdings of governments and universities, historical societies, and private collections. The editors are assembling in chronological order letters, private papers, diaries, eyewitness accounts, and newspaper reports, combining them with secret communiqués, treaties, and other records of the nations, states, and individuals that played a role in the eight-year-long international conflict.

After more than forty-two years, the publications have reached, with this volume, into the first three months of 1778. At less than half-way through the conflict chronologically, they are a vast and valuable repository of primary materials that heretofore could have been viewed in their entirety, if at all, by only the most richly funded researcher.

Much more than a compendium of ancient data, *Naval Documents* holds many

attractions for the reader of history—rare details about people and conditions within the thirteen states during the war years. Students of Maryland will find interesting revelations and insights. One document from Volume 11, dated January 12, 1778, illustrates the depth of the detail. The previous summer, a British armada of 260 ships had sailed unopposed up the Chesapeake Bay and landed 15,000 troops near Elkton on August 25. Marching overland, sweeping aside General Washington's forces at Brandywine, the British had entered Philadelphia on September 26. Ecstatic Loyalists flocked to the occupied capital, prematurely anticipating the return of the rebellious colonies to British control. One Loyalist, Henry Stevenson of Maryland, sent a letter to British commander General Sir William Howe, urging him to invade Maryland, "Toward the last of March after the Equinoctial Gales are over" (102–3).

The American government had fled to York, Pennsylvania. Washington's exhausted army was at Valley Forge. Stevenson argued for a surprise attack on "Baltimore Town on Patapsco River. . . . 'Tis the only Town of any consequence the Rebels now possess, from Boston to Charles Town. It's astonishing the Commerce that is carried on there, tis from Baltimore mostly the Rebel Army is supplied with Provisions and Ammunition." Stevenson went on to disclose the sources of American military supplies, "the French and Dutch," and the route they traveled. After they were landed at two "Inlets on the Eastern shore of Maryland & Virginia one called Sinapuxent, the other Chingoteague," the cargoes were "transported in small craft to Baltimore."

The letter summarized Baltimore's strategic position to a country clinging to the continent's east coast. "The whole Trade of the Bay centers there; 'tis but Thirty Miles from Annapolis, the [Maryland] Rebels Seat of Government . . . laying nearly centrical between the two grand Rivers, Patowmack, & Susquahanah, and commands a fine Country for some hundred Miles North West." Stevenson tempted Howe with the image of unlimited provisions for his troops. By occupying Baltimore, he argued, the British also "wou'd secure the Eastern Shores of Maryland & Virginia, and the Three Lower Counties on Dellaware by which the Inhabitants will chearfully supply the whole Army . . . with more provisions than they can consume for three Years besides Fish in great abunda[nce]."

Although Stevenson's letter offered General Howe timely military and naval intelligence, it provides readers today a glimpse of early Baltimore at war. "From intelligence I have lately received, there lies in the Bason of Baltimore, a Fine Frigate, of 28 Guns, call'd the *Virginia*, Two New Frigates, an old 18 Gun Ship call'd the *Defence*, a fine New Brig call'd the *Sturdy Beggar* of 14 Guns with other privateers, Galleys & small Craft, which greatly annoy the British Subjects." The Patapsco River, he estimated, would accommodate large warships. "There is between 18 & 19 feet of Water." Baltimore's defenses included an earthen fort at Whetstone Point (present day Fort McHenry). Stevenson offered to sabotage the de-

fenses. "About two miles below the Town on Weston [Whetstone] point there is a Fort mounted with Guns, two of which are 32 pounders which I can have spiked; also a Boom across the North East Branch." But Stevenson cautioned against a frontal attack, recommending that British forces outflank Baltimore's strongpoint. "The best way would be to run the Shipping two miles higher up in the North West Branch, where the ships may lay within 30 yards of the Shore, and land the Troops on a fine dry place called the Ferry point [near present day Hanover Street Bridge] and March into the Town or Fort without opposition."

Great events and small episodes can be traced using *Naval Documents.* King Louis XVI's words to the Continental Congress, March 28, 1778, "Very Dear, Great Friends, and Allies . . ." (1129–30) raised the flagging spirits of American patriots. Louis agreed to a treaty with the young country, along with "a fleet to endeavour to destroy the English Forces on the Coasts of North America." A secret dispatch from British ambassador Lord Stormont (1076–77) had warned London that "Paris has thrown the Die."

Lists of "Captures made by His Majesty's Ships of War since the breaking out of the Rebellion in North America," show American shipping losses in the twenty-two months from March 1776 to January 1778 at 131 vessels (124–30). The ships and their cargoes, condemned in admiralty court, were sold as prizes of war; American crews were imprisoned. Doctor Jonathan Haskins, surgeon on the *Charming Sally*, kept a journal while in Mill Prison, Plymouth, England. On January 1, 1778, Haskins described efforts by local inhabitants to raise money, "a Subscription raising for the relief of the American Prisoners confined in England! Blessed news to a Starving People" (861). On January 31 he noted five officers, including Continental Navy Captain Henry Johnson, had escaped the previous evening (948–49). Two days later, Johnson and one other escapee reached Rotterdam and sent a letter to the American commissioners in Paris (963–64).

From the communiqués of George Washington and John Paul Jones, to the letters of war ministers and common sailors, from the diaries of John Adams and the journals of the Continental Congress, to the letters and business records of state and local leaders and ordinary people, *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* preserves the contents of fragile and faded hand-written original writings. Its volumes are a means for an unparalleled journey into the thoughts and actions of people who experienced the events—the unnoticed and the momentous—that resulted in the founding of the United States of America.

Robert W. Tinder
Longmont, Colorado

Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South. By Adam Rothman. (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2005. 307 pages. Notes, acknowledgments, index. Cloth, $35.00.)

Thomas Jefferson envisioned a trans-Appalachian West populated and tamed by free, white yeoman farmers engaged in commercial agriculture. He hoped that movement westward would proceed peacefully, with the consent of the Native American peoples and anticipated that black slavery would gradually vanish from the land. In *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South*, Adam Rothman documents the tragic failure of the "Jeffersonian civilizing mission" (38, 43, 45) as he traces the expansion of slavery in the Deep South states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana in the fifty years following the American Revolution. Grappling with the paradox that slavery thrived in the South in the aftermath of a revolution conducted in the name of freedom and liberty, Rothman demonstrates that slavery did not march inexorably across the landscape of the Old Southwest; rather, the entrenchment of slavery as an institution in the Deep South was a contentious process with no predetermined outcome.

Native Americans, slaves, and European powers all challenged the establishment of a "slave country" in the Deep South. Rothman pays close attention to the Indian peoples of the region, particularly the Creeks, who resisted the incursion of white settlers. Bondpeople themselves threatened the security of slavery as an institution not merely by running away but by participating in Louisiana's enigmatic German Coast rebellion of 1811. The Spanish in West Florida represented a lingering and troubling foreign presence in the region, and war with Britain endangered the entire plantation complex by inhibiting migration, disrupting the routine functioning of the region's economy, and fostering a climate of unrest among slaves and Indians.

The expansion of slavery in the Deep South, Rothman explains, was intimately tied to violence. The famous slave revolt in St. Domingue increased the market for American sugar and encouraged the growth of slavery in Louisiana. When slaves along the German Coast rebelled, white authorities used violence to suppress them and maintain the slave system. Finally, Andrew Jackson's battles with the Creeks and the British secured the region militarily for slavery. Although detrimental in the short term, the War of 1812 emerges here as a watershed event that greatly reduced the Indian threat and purged the Deep South of foreign influences, paving the way for the expansion of plantation society.

Rothman certainly deserves credit for the scope and inclusiveness of his work. He describes a contested terrain in the Deep South in which indigenous peoples, slaves, free blacks, foreign powers, planters, and prominent national figures such as Andrew Jackson were all vital actors. He seamlessly weaves familiar events at the national level, such as the embargo and nonintercourse acts, the War of 1812, the acquisition of Florida, and the Missouri crisis, into his narrative, without overlooking the significant international contexts, including the events on St. Domingue and the Spaniards' sinister occupation of West Florida, that shaped the rise and expansion of slavery in the Deep South. Rothman also gives due both

to the rural cotton and sugar plantations and to the racially complex urban setting of New Orleans.

Although Rothman tends not to engage the historiography directly, *Slave Country* intersects with the works of such scholars as Drew McCoy, Joel Martin, and Dan Dupre. By taking advantage of his eclectic mix of primary sources, including correspondence, government records, and travelers' accounts, Rothman strikes out in a new direction that skillfully ties together regional, national, and international events to offer a rare glimpse of slavery in the early republic. Although Jefferson's dream of a slaveless yeoman republic went unfulfilled, *Slave Country* provides readers interested in American slavery and the formative decades of the new nation a concise and insightful account of events that permitted the blossoming of the plantation complex in the Deep South.

Jeff Forrett
Lamar University

John Brown's Body: Slavery, Violence & the Culture of War. By Franny Nudelman. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. 176 pages. Notes, illustrations, index. Paper, $19.95.)

Although Franny Nudelman has written a highly readable and fascinating treatise that puts a different spin on various aspects of the Civil War and its influence on the culture of war in the United States, her work actually is a thinly disguised anti-war document that uses pre- and postwar literature to underline a not-so-subtle message that war is not the answer.

Readers expecting to find a new analysis of Brown and company's 1859 raid on the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, may be disappointed to find that Nudelman uses Brown's iconic status and martyrdom as a tool to reconstruct how people "rededicate themselves to the *project of war* [my emphasis] in the face of stunning loss and destruction." The author points to the popular Union army marching song, "John Brown's Body," as a "diffuse, inspiriting presence" in which Brown's soul marches on to victory despite his defeat and demise. Nudelman sees in John Brown's death a metaphor for all war dead, and Brown himself, who died espousing abolitionist causes, becomes, as much as the song, an "an inspiriting presence," one that symbolizes the awesome violence of war, a figure whose martyrdom amplifies the abstraction of war to create a "national union of rebirth," and a quixotic individual whose actions metaphorically transformed how we view the battlefield dead today. In addition, Nudelman offers a rhetorical critique of post–Civil War activities that denigrated the dignity of impoverished civilians, soldiers, slaves, and former slaves. To this author, the Civil War changed how all Americans viewed future wars in which the United States became involved. It not only changed the technology of war, but it also vastly modified our cultural acceptance of it.

Nudelman addresses "the cultural significance of dead soldiers" from three directions: sentiment, science, and punishment. She skillfully describes pre-war attitudes toward the dead and dying, poignantly emphasizing the ultimate respect and deference given to deceased loved ones. In stark contrast, Alexander Gardner's battlefield photographs from the Battle of Antietam reduced bodies to mere by-products of war, denied the privilege of proper burial, while wartime values ostensibly emphasized the ideal of giving one's life for one's country. Nudelman claims that battlefield photographs by Gardner, Brady, and others clouded the widely held notion that soldiers died valiantly in defense of God and country, and suggests that Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, so often praised for its brevity and eloquence, actually became the precursor for what we now see, when the occasion calls for it, as "A Moment of Silence." Nudelman calls this contemporary trend a "Rhetoric of Silence," i.e., a scant and fleeting tribute to real people who died during times of violence and whose sacrifices meant little except to those who knew and loved them.

With regard to science, Nudleman takes particular aim at using corpses, particularly those of the poor, for scientific research in postwar medical schools; nineteenth-century debates on African American intelligence; and shared "blood" metaphors among races, concluding that "John Brown died for a race in whose blood he had no share." Blood spent on the battlefield and blood shared racially are common denominators of this section.

Nudelman's last argument concerns punishment and military discipline. The author takes exception to military rules and regulations regarding training, military exercises, and military conformance to protocol, all of which result in creating an abstraction of war. This section is possibly the author's weakest. Indeed, if war is the only possible option, then battlefield combatants must follow protocols, orders, and an adherence to standard military training.

As support for her various premises, readers will find frequent references to the writings of Walt Whitman, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Henry David Thoreau among others. Rather than focusing on historical documents (which she does use at appropriate times), the author spends more time tapping pre- and postwar literary works. Hence, her title and focus are a bit-misleading. A better title might have been *Abolitionist Literature: Slavery, Violence, & The Culture of War* .

Although overall Nudelman's text is scholarly, interesting, and highly readable, she makes a few errors. When using the name "Booth," she simply says, "Booth," never clarifying that she means John Wilkes. Nudelman often reconstructs history based on contemporary attitudes. Furthermore, after reading her sections on military history, training, and discipline, I must conclude that she knows little about military history, training, and military discipline—and the need for it—going back centuries.

Although Nudelman makes a fascinating argument, do not expect it to be a treatise on Harper's Ferry or John Brown. It is an anti-war argument.

Amy Fink
Towson University

Retreat from Gettysburg: Lee, Logistics, and the Pennsylvania Campaign. By Kent Masterson Brown. Civil War America. Gary W. Gallagher, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. 552 pages. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $34.95.)

Kent Masterson Brown, a Lexington, Kentucky, attorney, author, and editor, examines the oft-overlooked Confederate retreat to the Potomac in the eleven days that followed the Battle of Gettysburg. Beginning with an overview of the Confederate invasion and the position and condition of the armies following the battle, he then traces the path of the Confederate retreat through Monterey and Cashtown passes in the South Mountain range, thence into Washington County, Maryland. Most of the Army of Northern Virginia passed through Hagerstown to Williamsport, while the column of wounded left Marion, Pennsylvania, and reached Williamsport via the Cumberland Valley Turnpike. Numerous clashes with Union cavalry took place along the way, and the small canal town was reduced to confusion and disorder by the arrival of the Confederates, their wounded, and nearly 100,000 head of livestock and other supplies that they had seized. Stymied by the swollen Potomac and the destruction of their pontoon bridge, the Confederates prepared a defensive line around the town while they built additional ferries and a new pontoon bridge. Repeated Union cavalry assaults tested the defenses while Confederates crossed the river, but on reaching the scene General George G. Meade acceded to the wishes of his corps commanders and declined to send the Army of the Potomac against Robert E. Lee's strong positions, thereby permitting the last of the Confederates to cross the river. In his concluding chapter, Brown follows the Confederate wounded and the plunder into the interior of Virginia.

Brown also covers the role of African Americans who traveled with the Confederate army. Along with those who served as laborers and teamsters, he provides many stories of servants who followed their masters into the army and served them loyally, in some cases accompanying the bodies of their dead masters back to the South for burial. In contrast, he addresses only briefly the controversial issue of the Confederate seizure of free blacks in Pennsylvania, who were then sent back to slavery in the South, explaining only that "partisans operating on the fringes of Lee's army," were most responsible for this conduct (31).

Brown defends Meade's languid pursuit of the Confederates, claiming that because Meade's supply base was twenty-five miles to the rear at Westminster, Mary-

land, the Union army was ill-fed and supplied during the Battle of Gettysburg. Additionally, after the battle the general was unsure if Lee was in full retreat to the Potomac or intent upon making a stand along the eastern base of the South Mountain range. Because of these factors, the author suggests that the Union army was not prepared to mount an aggressive pursuit, which gave the Army of Northern Virginia additional time to get to the Potomac.

Brown concludes that although the Confederates lost the Battle of Gettysburg, Lee restored the "balance of power" in the Eastern Theatre with his successful retreat, not only by returning his army to Virginia without significant additional losses but also by bringing with him the livestock, thousands of tons of fodder, flour, and other supplies that helped sustain his army as an effective fighting force. Gettysburg, Brown argues, was not the "turning point" of the war.

Although most of the book is well-written, readers may get bogged down in the extensive detail present in the early chapters, particularly in chapter 2 where, among other things, the author describes the numerous Confederate hospitals established around Gettysburg, including where officers—famous and not so famous—were treated. Brown is also slow to get Lee's army moving; the first wagons do not begin to roll until chapter 4. Once the retreat is underway, however, it is described in a lively style with numerous contemporary quotes, maps and photographs.

For students of Maryland history, there is much of interest. The author describes the spirited defense of Monterey Pass on July 4, led by Confederate Captain George M. Emack of Company B, 1st Maryland Cavalry, which occurred after dark against overwhelming numbers of cavalry commanded by General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick. Brown also describes a number of cavalry clashes that occurred on Maryland soil, including the July 5 Battle of Smithsburg, where dismounted cavalry under J. E. B. Stuart drove away Kilpatrick's dismounted horsemen; the July 6 Battle of Hagerstown, in which Kilpatrick failed to take the town from Confederate cavalry in fighting that surged back and forth through the streets; and the July 10 Battle of Funkstown, southeast of Hagerstown, where a hodgepodge of Confederate units under Stuart held off John Buford's cavalry brigade and elements of the Union Sixth Corps. A number of assaults on the Confederate defenses around Williamsport are also portrayed, including Buford's July 6 attack against Brigadier General John Imboden's scratch force and Kilpatrick's July 14 attack on the Confederate rear guard at Falling Waters.

One Confederate activity remains omnipresent in Brown's account before, during, and after the Battle of Gettysburg: the foraging for provisions and supplies, largely from the civilian populations of Maryland and Pennsylvania. This conduct, coupled with local care of Confederate wounded who were strewn along the retreat route, must have caused great hardship to the citizens of Maryland and Pennsylvania. A book on this topic—something akin to Kathleen Ernst's *Too*

Afraid to Cry: Maryland Civilians in the Antietam Campaign (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1999)—begs to be written, particularly as Brown has identified many primary sources on the topic.

One may argue with Brown's judgement on Gettysburg, but this is an important book that supplements and expands upon previous studies of the campaign.

TIMOTHY SNYDER
Hagerstown, Maryland

The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory. By W. Fitzhugh Brundage. (Cambridge: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 2005. 430 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, $29.95.)

In the introduction to *Where these Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity,* an essay collection he edited in 2000, Fitzhugh Brundage noted that attention should be given to what kind of history southerners have valued and to how and why they have chosen to commemorate select aspects of their past. "What we need, in short," he wrote, "is a social history of remembering in the South" (3). He then took that task upon himself, and the result is the book under review here.

Historic memory among southerners is not a subject that has lacked for scholarly attention of late. Yet the vast majority of that work—books such as Tony Horowitz's *Confederates in the Attic* (1997) David Goldfield's *Still Fighting the Civil War* (2002), and David Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory,* (2001)— suggest that that war and its aftermath are the sole impetuses for southern preoccupations with the past. In this vast compendium, Brundage demonstrates quite effectively that there has always been much more to the South's history, and that in one way or another, at both regional and local levels, its residents have been driven by very specific agendas to memorialize a great deal of it.

For Brundage, race remains the most basic of those agendas. His book chronicles the means by which white and black memories, coeval and competing, have long asserted their own interpretations of very different pasts. His emphasis is not so much on the values and rhetorical rationales central to those efforts but on more tangible reflections of their beliefs. Traditional public spaces have always served as the most accessible means by which the past is captured and defined—museums, monuments, historic sites and buildings, and other tourist attractions—and all are very much in evidence here. But much of the value, and originality, of Brundage's book lies in his attention to less obvious, equally pervasive means through which historical memory has been shaped on both sides of the "color line."

Efforts to infuse white supremacy into the shaping of a public past often took subtle, even surprising forms. In a chapter on women's organizations, for example, Brundage demonstrates how memorials to Virginia Dare, the first white

child born in North America, and the Edenton Tea Party (a Revolutionary protest by North Carolina women that calls for a fuller explanation) served to reassert the nation's founding roots as purely white and the ideal of "republican motherhood," as did the preservation of presidential homes, from Mount Vernon to Andrew Jackson's Hermitage. Both plantations served as home to far more slaves than whites, and yet there was no mention of a black presence at the former. The sole indication at the latter was an elderly surviving slave of Jackson's who still lived at the Hermitage at the turn of the century and who served as little more than a nostalgic relic of a paternalistic plantation community.

By the same token, cities as varied as St. Augustine, Florida, Natchez, Mississippi, and especially Charleston, South Carolina, commodified their historic distinctiveness to revitalize sagging economies in the early decades of the twentieth century. Charlestonians, who saw their tourist clientele as national rather than regional, downplayed their role as the cradle of southern secession and site of the Civil War's outbreak, stressing instead the refined and elitist culture of their colonial and early antebellum years. Blacks became part of that imagery only in carefully circumscribed terms. Their primitive skills as basket weavers, peddlers of seafood and vegetables, and the source of African-based spirituals, were promoted primarily through what Brundage terms "the most eccentric cultural preservation movement"—the all-white Society for the Preservation of Spirituals.

Whites drew on abundant resources, from private philanthropy to the power of the state, to establish their versions of history. Those same institutions often proved oppressive to southern blacks, forcing them to find more subtle, even subversive means of defining and commemorating their own pasts. Among those efforts, Emancipation Day rituals and civic and religious ceremonies were conspicuous, but far more intriguing were things less visible to whites, from the infusion of black history into the school curricula at all levels to the establishment of Negro History Week, which provided the impetus for a wide variety of pageants, one-act plays and other performances highlighting the achievements of both Africans and African-Americans. Much of the push for such awareness came from higher levels of academia, with the creation of organizations such as the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915, and its publication, *The Journal of Negro History*, a year later.

Such modest success stories during the Jim Crow era were often overshadowed by more serious setbacks over the next generation. In a fascinating chapter entitled "Black Memorials and the Bulldozer Revolution," the centrality of public space takes on a very different meaning as Brundage recounts the devastating losses to black memory and community life in the late 1950s and early 1960s that came in the form of urban renewal projects. He notes the tragic irony in the destruction of historically significant black neighborhoods in Durham, North Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia, both of which were home to unusually affluent

and politically astute citizens, who were nevertheless unable to prevent the loss of cherished institutions and sites, even in the midst of the Civil Rights era.

These are only a few of the many stories Brundage packs into this richly detailed, multi-faceted narrative. He moves from history to current events in a hefty epilogue in which he documents recent controversies, from much publicized battles over the Confederate flag and Arthur Ashe's presence on Richmond's Monument Avenue, to less familiar, more localized movements to commemorate a mass lynching in 1946 Georgia and to memorialize the slave rebel Gabriel Prosser in Virginia. Brundage ultimately questions whether there is any "true" history that can bridge the chasms between the black and white South and be commonly adopted by both, and concludes that any such search for historical truth "cannot be separated from an appraisal of the unequal power that competing groups and individuals exercise over the interpretation of the past" (344).

Along with *Away Down South*, James C. Cobb's equally comprehensive new treatise on southern identity, Brundage's *The Southern Past* offers the most valuable commentary to date on who southerners think they are and how they have used their past to confirm their definitions of themselves and their predecessors.

John C. Inscoe
University of Georgia

Gerald H. Gaither. *Bibliographies and Indexes in Afro-American and African Studies*, Number 45. (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 2004. 204 pages, appendix, index. Cloth, $49.95.)

A flurry of new publications on the history of southern African Americans during the late nineteenth century signals a return to a much written about subject—Populism—only now with a focus on the Black Populists, the black men and women who organized an independent political movement between the mid-1880s and the late 1890s. Although much scholarly attention has been given to the predominantly white Populist movement—from C. Vann Woodward's classic *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913*, to Lawrence Goodwyn's *Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America*—the role of African Americans in the Farmers' Alliances, the People's Party, and other grassroots organizations has remained largely in the historical shadows. The publication of *Black Populism in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography* by Anthony J. Adam and Gerald H. Gaither brings new focus and energy to literature addressing the political movement comprising southern black farmers, sharecroppers, and agrarian workers during the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

For the first time, students and scholars of the New South, African American studies, political science, and history have at their disposal a single annotated bibliography of the relevant manuscript collections, books, articles, essays, ency-

clopedia entries, theses, dissertations, and web resources pertaining to Black Populism. The project effectively uses the expertise of Adam, a college librarian and writer, and Gaither, a historian whose 1977 book *Blacks and the Populist Revolt* is currently being reissued by the University of Alabama Press. It is perhaps only fitting that the two authors hail from Prairie View A&M University, a historically black college located near Houston, only a few miles from where Black Populism originated with the Colored Farmers Alliance in December 1886.

Although this book is a valuable resource for those who want to deepen their knowledge of the available sources relating to the independent black movement, the main problem with any annotated bibliography is that it only captures works up until the time of publication. The recent acclaim (Pulitzer and Bancroft awards) given to Steven Hahn's *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Harvard University Press, 2003) points to the increased attention being given to African Americans in the period and region and is also a prime example of an important new book that was unfortunately published just after *Black Populism in the United States* went to press.

Hahn's book, the reissuing of Gaither's, and the recent work of several other historians, underscores a growing awareness that rural southern blacks were active political players following Reconstruction. The extent of their success, the reasons for their failures, and their legacy continue to be debated, but the fact that an agrarian-turned-political movement of southern African Americans grew up apart from the white Populist movement there is incontrovertible.

Adam and Gaither are to be commended for gathering and skillfully annotating the valuable array of primary and secondary sources relating to Black Populism. Their book, a jewel of a reference source and guide, has brought much needed scholarly attention to an important aspect of the various independent political struggles—black and white—that have shaped democracy in the United States.

Omar H. Ali
Towson University

Disappearing Islands of the Chesapeake. By William B. Cronin. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005. 182 pages. Index, maps, photographs. Cloth $35.00.)

The Chesapeake Bay country is vanishing so quickly that in a short time people will have difficulty recalling that there once was a vibrant maritime culture in the mid-Atlantic. The enemy, as Pogo once said, is us. Today a tsunami of population growth, development, and pollution is engulfing the region, turning hamlets, villages, and oyster ports into condominium communities and vacation retreats for the affluent while at the same time transforming parts of the bay into an enormous sewage lagoon.

Politicians defend the region in public and sell out their constituents in private. Scientists point out the dangers to water quality in the Chesapeake and then go back to their laboratories funded by the state and corporations and demand more money for more research. Eschewing controversy, principle, and political argument, many of our bay scientists are the best-kept intellectual whores in the state of Maryland.

As a scientist, humanist, historian and lover of the bay country, William Cronin is one of the great exceptions. An oceanographer at the Johns Hopkins Chesapeake Bay Institute, he stood up alongside his late brother, Dr. Eugene Cronin of the Solomon's Laboratory, and defended the bay from its enemies—corporate scientists, developers, polluters, nuclear power advocates, and those hell-bent on using the bay as a trough for toxic materials like phosphates, PCBs, and kepone. Now in retirement, William Cronin has penned a delightful book that sets the groundwork for our understanding of what it is that we are truly losing. In *Disappearing Islands of the Chesapeake,* Cronin chronicles the life and death of some forty islands in the Chesapeake Bay that often were important components of the Chesapeake maritime economy. Informative maps, drawings, and photographs by the late Aubrey Bodine enhance the text.

Dividing the bay into three parts, Cronin provides capsule histories of these bay islands. Some have already disappeared, victims of the relentless erosion of the tides, winds, and storms. Others have been transformed out of their original cultural context and are hardly recognizable. The best example of the former is Sharps Island, west of the mouth of the Choptank River. First recorded at 449 acres, Sharps Island figured in the War of 1812 and was later a tourist resort. Today it is little more than a shoal. The best example of the latter is Kent Island, one of the most important islands in the bay since the colonial era when William Claiborne fought the Calvert family for dominion of the upper Chesapeake. Today Kent Island's seafood industry is a shadow of its former self, and highways and cheap housing developments on Kent make it a tentacle of the Baltimore-Washington metropolitan octopus.

In the mid-Chesapeake, islands such as Smith and Tangier battle erosion and try to survive amidst diminishing resources of crabs, fish, and oysters. These islands also have to battle the seductive lure of the mainland with its cars and Wal-Marts that siphon off youth from island life. Tangier and Smith, today, are island homes of old people.

Cronin reports that some islands have been fairly resilient in weathering the elements and people. Tilghman Island on the Eastern Shore seems to have made an uneasy synthesis of waterman culture and gentrification, but the results are far from conclusive. To the south on the western shore at the mouth of the Potomac, Cobb Island has most successfully weathered the forces of erosion and maintains a great deal of its original land mass. It is home to sailors and kayakers who love the swift waters at the entrance to the Potomac.

Chesapeake islands have been put to a number of uses. Bloodsworth Island, for example, has been a firing range for U.S. Navy fighters. Others are domains of scientific or conservation groups like the Chesapeake Bay Foundation. Some islands are the preserves of wealthy businessmen and hunters, like Gibson Island with its gated community, clubhouse, golf course, and ample hauteur.

Erosion has always troubled Chesapeake Island communities. Cronin argues that there is nothing new about that. What is new is the rate of coastal erosion caused by a one-foot rise in sea level since the nineteenth century. "As the sea level rises inundating coastal wetlands, it destroys important habitats and sources of food for hundreds of species of fin and shellfish, crustaceans, birds, insects, and animals," Cronin observes (7). It is a rate so rapid that the bay may not have time to replenish the nursery of its own existence.

Cronin writes of island life both past and present with a clear and dispassionate eye for understanding the immense changes that have taken place in the region since the first Europeans set foot in the bay country. He places in perspective the role that agriculture and fishing played in island life and discusses the new role that some of the surviving islands like Poplar Island play in the restoration of bay habitat.

Disappearing Islands of the Chesapeake is the kind of reference tool that people will turn to in the years ahead when they seek to answer the question: "What happened to Chesapeake Bay?"

John R. Wennersten
Washington, D.C.

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

On October 12, 1945, I was inducted into the U.S. Army and sent to Fort Meade. There, after various processes like issue of uniforms, etc., I was assigned to a holding company, where I resided for about five days until transferred and assigned to the Occupational Counseling Branch of the Separation Center. While awaiting that assignment I was regularly given (!) KP duty in a battalion mess operating around the clock. In that capacity I worked alongside German POWs who had been there for some time, were quite knowledgable about procedures, and had in fact complete freedom of the post, a privilege I did not yet share. (For obvious reasons they ate as well as we GIs.) When I was transferred to the Separation Center, a very different relationship was provided: I was in school for about a month until I had acquired the skills of my intended job, and then I daily interviewed, for six months or so, GIs just returned from Europe and about to be discharged. My task, as a new arrival from civilian life, was to acquaint them with the life they would shortly find "outside" and to provide them with a certificate spelling out their Army job experience to facilitate their employment in a job benefiting from that experience. The barracks in which we lived had coal furnaces, the stoking and maintenance of which was assigned to POWs, who would also do sundry tasks for a small fee.

But the reason for this note is to tell you that the fence around the post was porous, and POWs, as well as GIs, were free to go off-post to stores or wherever they wished with impunity.

I enjoyed the article for bringing back memories and for adding to my knowledge of that experience.

Daniel Willard
Bethesda

MdHS Spring Public Programs

Elegant Patterns in the Most Fashionable Taste: The Work of 18th-Century American Silversmiths

Don Fennimore, Sunday, May 7, 1 P.M.

In this illustrated presentation, Don Fennimore, former Senior Curator of Metals at Winterthur Museum, will explore the dynamic between silversmiths and their clientele that produced some of the most admired and sought-out arts of America's past. Fennimore will address the nature of the silversmith tradition, the various styles silversmiths created to make their products attractive and current, and the techniques they employed. Find out how their range of wares, from simple and functional to elaborate and ceremonial, established the significance of silver in the lives of eighteenth-century Americans. Tickets are $15 non-members, $10 members, and can be purchased by calling the Box Office at 410-685-3750 ext. 321.

Special Authors & Artifacts Presentation

Fred Leiner, "*The End of the Barbary Terror: America's 1815 War Against the Pirates of North Africa*," Thursday, May 11, 5:30 P.M., wine & cheese reception, 6:00 lecture.

Join lawyer and historian Fred Leiner as he discusses his new book on a remarkable and little known episode in America's early history, one replete with piracy, white slavery, the image of the Jews in America, secret weapons of mass destruction, diplomatic intrigue, and sea battles.

In the 1790s, the United States, still a fledging republic, faced among other challenges that presented by the Barbary States of Islamic North Africa, who were notorious for routinely seizing passing ships and selling Christian prisoners into white slavery. Fred Leiner reconstructs how, after years of paying tribute, the United States fought back against these Barbary pirates.

Tickets $8 in advance and $10 at the door. Includes wine and cheese reception and parking for the evening. *The End of the Barbary Terror* will be available for purchase in the Museum Store. Call 410-685-3750 ext. 321 for more information.

Fells Point Maritime Museum Anniversary

Saturday, June 17, 10 A.M. TO 5 P.M.

The Fells Point Maritime Museum will celebrate its anniversary with half-price admission. Discover Fells Point's role in Baltimore shipbuilding and why in 1812 the British focused their ire upon Baltimore's "nest of pirates." Browse our gift shop and visit the new time-bubble exhibit on immigration in Baltimore. Call 410-685-3750 ext. 321 for more information.

Rare Civil War Photographs at the Library

The society's H. Furlong Baldwin Library presents *The Civil War in Maryland: Rare Photographs from the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society and its Members,* opening on May 3, 2006.

Curated by Ross J. Kelbaugh, the exhibit will be the largest collection of original photos of Civil War Maryland ever displayed, including many images never before exhibited, and will cover the period just before the start of the conflict through the postwar era. In addition to the library's collection, the exhibit will feature rare images from Maryland Union collector Arthur G. Barrett, Civil War authors Ross J. Kelbaugh and Daniel Carroll Toomey, Maryland Confederate collectors David P. Mark Sr. and Frederick D. Shroyer, and others.

The exhibition includes:

Rare outdoor photographs of the Carroll family's Doughoregan Manor

Portraits of the war's first African American casualty

A newly discovered portrait of a citizen killed in the Pratt Street Riot who may also be the first Confederate soldier to die in the war

Rare photographs taken after the Battle of Antietam

The largest number of wartime photographs of Baltimore ever displayed

Unpublished photographs of Fort Federal Hill in Baltimore and other Union camps around Maryland

Portraits of Maryland African American soldiers including one very rare photograph of a member of the 4th U.S. Colored Troops from the Eastern Shore who later was mortally wounded

The only known photographs of Barbara Frietchie, the Frederick heroine of John Greenleaf Whittier's poem

The largest collection of images of Marylanders who served in the Union and Confederate armies ever exhibited

Rare Civil War stereoviews viewable in 3-D

Second Annual Workshop for Baltimore Historians

Sponsored by the Baltimore City Historical Society, University of Maryland School of Law, and the Westminster Preservation Trust

Lies Historians Tell: Baltimore Bunkum and Maryland Myths

May 12, 2006, 9:00 a.m.–1:00 p.m.

Westminster Hall, Fayette & Greene Streets, Baltimore

Although each new generation of historians seeks to correct misstatements in the historical record and to better explain the human motivation behind events, errors, misstatements, mischaracterizations, and exaggerations manage to survive. Four speakers will provide examples in Maryland and Baltimore history, followed by an open discussion:

Professor Larry Gibson, "Thurgood Marshall Myths, Things Written About Him that Ain't So."

Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse, "Revisiting the First Plot to Assassinate Lincoln in 1861: Was There One?"

Dr. David Taft Terry, "Exploring the Plantation Underground: Fugitives and Families and Friends in Antebellum Maryland."

Dr. Michael S. Franch, "Burials, Builders, and Burgeoning Baltimore: The True Story Behind the Fable of Westminster Burial Ground."

Registration: The cost of the Workshop is $25. Student registration is free (ID required). Register on-line at:

http://www.acteva.com/booking.cfm?bevaID=106440

Online registration will be confirmed by e-mail and tickets will be held at the door. You may also register on-line with the option of paying at the door. Please register early, as seating is limited. Inquiries should be directed to Marie Schwartz: e-mail baltimorehistory@law.umaryland.edu, phone, 410-706-3838.

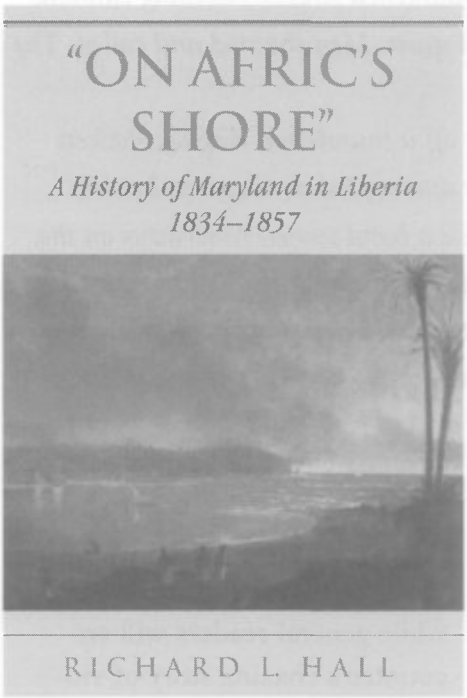
Directions and Parking From I-95 take route 395 (downtown Baltimore) and exit on Russell Street. Turn left at blinking yellow light and right at light on to Russell Street. Russell Street becomes Paca Street. Proceed five blocks and just past Baltimore St., turn right into the Baltimore Grand Garage at 5 N. Paca St. Parking fees are the responsibility of the participants. Westminster Hall may be accessed through the Law School entrance at the corner of Baltimore and Paca Sts.

If you require special accommodations to attend or participate, please provide information about your requirements to Lu Ann Marshall, 410-706-4128 (1-800-735-2258 TTY/Voice), or send an e-mail to lmarshal@law.umaryland.edu, at least five business days in advance.

"ON AFRIC'S SHORE"

A History of Maryland in Liberia, 1834–1857

RICHARD L. HALL



Richard L. Hall's masterly narrative recounts how free black men and women, and newly freed slaves faced with the choice of emigration or the auction block, boarded ships and sailed for a new life on the west coast of Africa. Greeted there by a people who looked down upon them, they strove to create a society similar to the one from which they had been expelled: Christian, agricultural, republican, and, pointedly, egalitarian. This magnificent volume also includes a complete list of all the settlers who reached Maryland in Liberia, their ages, places of residence in the United States, and fate where known, in the Maryland colony. A most valuable contribution to the history of race relations in nineteenth century America and the world.

"A triumph." — *Baltimore Sun*

"[A] splendid new history.... Hall has reconstructed not only the community's great events—its trials, elections, and wars—but also the thoughts and hopes of countless people sriving to create a new society, one that would allow them the full expression of their individuality. By letting us hear their voices unfiltered by ideology, Richard Hall has created a monument to these forgotten people and their lost colony."

— *New York Review of Books*

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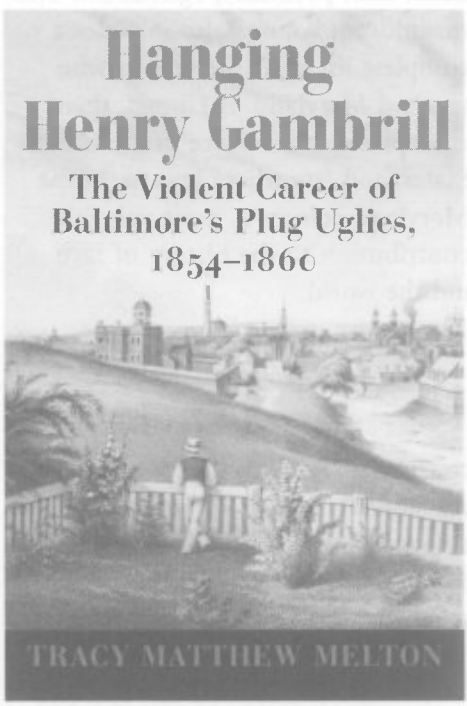
Sales tax where applicable. Add $3.50 s+h.

Remember the good old days . . . ?

". . . a gothic host swarmed through the city. Monstrous shadows created by paraded transparencies and a hauled forge danced and flickered ominously across brick and wood facades along the darkened streets. Booming cannons and hammered metal shattered the night quiet. Men shouted and called. The American clubs were marching.

They entered the square . . . , setting off a thunderous display. Rockets and fireworks streaked into the night sky and exploded. Cannons belched flame and clouds of sulfurous smoke, while a band roused Americans on the ground. The Tigers manned a fully-rigged miniature ship. The Mount Clare Club from the Eighteenth Ward hauled their wheeled forge at which members made awls to distribute among the crowd."



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— *Baltimore Sun*

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by James D. Rice

Manumission and Apprenticeship in Maryland, 1770–1870
by T. Stephen Whitman

89 Days Off Okinawa: A Captain's Diary
by C. Homer Bast

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